



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Investigating BBC's and FT's Operations in China Through Comparison between Their Chinese and English Online News Portals

Shuman Wang



A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The University of Edinburgh

February, 2017

Abstract

This study addresses the issue of overseas news production of foreign news media when they enter the market of the Mainland China. By making an in-depth investigation of BBC's and the FT's operations in China and comparing the news texts of the two news media's Chinese online portals with that of their British online portals, differences in terms of narratives, semantics, plot emphasis, and ideologies are identified and analysed, thus revealing the cross-cultural behaviour patterns of the two prominent British news media in terms of balancing between British journalistic ideology and Chinese regulations, western journalistic style and Chinese readers' tastes, and between moral standards and commercial profit.

The four online portals are compared through three Chinese news events that took place in the year 2012: the downfall of Chinese high ranking official Bo Xilai; the large-scale anti-Japan protests in the summer of 2012; and Chinese writer Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature. The three news events covered the fields of politics, economy, society and culture. The investigating methods include quantitative analysis and framing analysis of the news reports on the three news events produced by the four online portals, translation study of the translated news reports of the four online portals and semi-structured interviews with journalists and editors of BBC Chinese and the FT.

The central argument is that BBC and the FT act differently in China and in the UK so as to cater to local media markets on many aspects including journalistic practice, coverage of local news, and media policy. Such changes in some cases do not remain consistent with their claims to represent the same news media. Consequently, the

Chinese branches of the two prominent British news media become neither a British journalistic ideology carrier nor a copycat of a Chinese native news producer but rather a mixture of both cultures.

Lay Summary

On 15 March, 2012, the name of Bo Xilai took up the leading position in the Asian section of each news media's online portal. British news media such as BBC reported "High profile Chinese politician, Bo Xilai is sacked", the FT reported "Bo purged by Chinese leadership". On the same day, Chinese commercial news online portals such as Tencent and Netease also immediately covered the news, while they took the fairly ambiguous title of "Bo Xilai no longer holds the position of Chongqing Municipal Party Secretary" (*Bo Xilai buzai danren Chongqing shiwei shuji*) to tone down the political significance behind the incident. Meanwhile Chinese authoritative newspapers such as the *People's Daily* kept silent until almost one month later.

Facing the different journalistic ideologies and regulations, how do the Chinese branches of foreign news media represent news events in China? When crossing the political and cultural borders, how do they adapt to the new media environment? My doctoral research examines these questions by investigating the operations of BBC's and the FT's British and Chinese online portals. My analysis exposes how the Chinese branches of these two British news media cater to the Chinese media environment. Instead of isolating the performance of Chinese media from that of the west, my research integrates the studies of news media under two different systems into one cross-cultural study frame, which is weak in both Chinese studies and media studies.

BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese developed their own styles by blending British journalism ideologies into the Chinese media environment. Despite the fact that the

Chinese branches built themselves up as the translators of their British headquarters, they have actually presented the same news events and even the same articles in a different way.

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that the research recorded in this thesis is my own work, produced without the prohibited assistance of third parties and without making use of aids other than those specified. The thesis has been written entirely by myself and the work presented has been conducted in the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures at the University of Edinburgh from September 2012 to February 2017 under the supervision of Prof. Natascha Gentz. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Shuman Wang

Signature

Date

Shuman Wang

20-Oct-2017

To my family

献给我的家人

“A press that is free to investigate and criticize the government is absolutely essential in a nation that practices self-government and is therefore dependent on an educated and enlightened citizenry.”

--Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States

Acknowledgement

The four-year doctoral training is a long, lonely and difficult journey. Fortunately, I made to the end. However, I think I will miss this period of time in the future because it is very fortunate to do research on a topic that I found so fascinating.

Special thanks go to my supervisors, Professor Natascha Gentz and Christopher Rosenmeier at the Department of Chinese Studies, the University of Edinburgh. They gave me most valuable advice and criticism to keep me on track, moving forward, and finally coming to finishing point of my doctoral journey. Without their guidance over the past four years, I can never make it.

I also thank Elizabeth Leith for her kind comments on my dissertation.

I am indebted to my family members. The doctoral journey is not easy, especially for a mom. In the second year of my doctoral training, my son Glenn came into this world, and this April, a little girl will become a new member of our family. Without the selfless support of my family, I don't know where I would have ended up. I must thank my father Wang Lu, my mother Wang Hong, and my husband Chen Tao. They gave me strength to finish this academic Long March.

I want to thank my son Glenn Chen. Being a mother makes me more motivated to overcome difficulties and to finish this project.

I also want to express my gratitude to my three interviewees. Thank you all, named and unnamed.

Table of Content

Abstract	i
Lay Summary	iii
Declaration of Originality	v
Acknowledgement.....	viii
Table of Content.....	ix
List of Figures and Tables.....	xiv
1. Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1. General context of China's journalism industry	1
1.2. An introduction to BBC	3
1.3. An introduction to BBC Chinese.....	9
1.4. An introduction to the FT	13
1.5. An introduction to the FT Chinese	15
1.6. Digital techniques applied by the four online portals.....	18
1.7. Research questions	23
1.8. Significance of this study	25
1.9. Methodology	27

1.10. Chapter Structure.....	28
2. Chapter 2 General Context	29
2.1. The trend of digitisation	29
2.2. News Media in China	34
2.3. Censorship in China	39
2.4. Summary	48
3. Chapter 3 Theories and Methods	52
3.1. Literature Review	52
3.2. Framing analysis of the four online portals' news stories	59
3.3. Content Analysis of the four online portals' news stories	65
3.4. Translation in news coverage	70
3.5. Interviews	76
4. Chapter 4 Case Study I: The downfall of Bo Xilai	78
4.1. Bo Xilai and His Downfall	78
4.2. Content Analysis of the News Stories on Bo Xilai's case	83
4.3. Framing Analysis of the News Stories on Bo Xilai's Case	95

4.4.	BBC UK's news coverage	98
4.5.	BBC Chinese's news coverage	106
4.6.	FT UK's news coverage	115
4.7.	Comparison between the four online portals' framing patterns	123
4.8.	Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals	128
5.	Chapter 5 Case Study II: Anti-Japan Protests.....	136
5.1.	Background of the Diaoyu Islands Dispute.....	136
5.2.	Content Analysis of the News Stories on the Anti-Japan Protests in China 141	
5.3.	Framing Analysis of the News Stories on the Anti-Japan Protests	147
5.4.	BBC UK's news coverage	149
5.5.	BBC Chinese's news coverage	156
5.6.	FT UK's news coverage	173
5.7.	Comparison between the four online portals' framing patterns	183

5.8.	Translation between the English and the Chinese News Stories of the four online portals.....	190
6.	Chapter 6 Case Study III: MoYan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature.....	200
6.1.	Mo Yan and His Nobel Prize for Literature	200
6.2.	Content Analysis of the news stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize	203
6.3.	Framing Analysis of the news stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize	209
6.4.	BBC UK's news coverage	210
6.5.	BBC Chinese's news coverage	214
6.6.	FT UK's news coverage	223
6.7.	Comparison between the four online portals' framing patterns	224
6.8.	Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals.....	227
7.	Chapter 7 Discussion	230
7.1.	Quantitative comparison between the four online across the three case studies.....	230

7.2. Framing patterns of the four online portals	243
7.3. Journalistic ideologies of the four online portals	256
7.4. Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals.....	265
8. Chapter 8 Conclusion.....	270
Bibliography.....	275
Appendix I.....	286
Drafted questions with the FT's journalist.....	286
Drafted questions with BBC's editors	288
Appendix II	291
News Stories Translated between BBC UK and BBC Chinese.....	291

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1 Global expansion of BBC online service.....	4
Figure 1.2 BBC international portfolio	7
Figure 2.1 Consumer spending: traditional vs. digital.....	30
Figure 2.2 Global broadband penetration.....	31
Figure 2.3 Scale of Chinese Internet users.....	37
Table 3.1 Time period of the selected texts	69
Table 4.1 Key events during the downfall of Bo Xilai	83
Figure 4.1 Numbers of news reports and commentaries on Bo Xilai's case	85
Figure 4.2 Numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on Bo Xilai's case	87
Figure 4.3 Issues under Bo Xilai's case	90
Figure 4.4 Quantitative comparison between original and translated articles ...	92
Figure 4.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals.....	96
Figure 5.1 Numbers of news reports and commentaries on anti-Japan demonstrations	141
Figure 5.2 Numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on anti- Japanese demonstrations	143
Figure 5.3 Issues under anti-Japan demonstrations	144
Figure 5.4 Quantitative comparison between original and translated articles (news reports and commentaries).....	146
Figure 5.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals.....	147

Figure 5.6 Japanese exports fall for fifth consecutive month	151
Figure 5.7 Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence	151
Figure 5.8 People across China take part in anti-Japan demonstrations (<i>Zhongguo gedi minzhong xiangying canyu fanri youxing</i>).....	159
Figure 5.9 China protests lead to Japanese firm's suspension (<i>Zhongguo fanri shiwei daozi Riqi zaihua gongchang tinggon</i>)	160
Figure 5.10 Mukden Incident Anniversary approaches, authority handles civilians' anti-Japan wave low key (<i>Jiuyiba linjin guanfang didiao chuli minjian fanri</i>)	161
Figure 5.11 Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, Japanese companies lost billions of dollars (<i>Zhongguo fanri shiwei, Ri qiye sunshi shangyi meiyuan</i>)	162
Figure 5.12 Fallout feared from islands protest	177
Figure 5.13 Anti-Japanese protests sweep China.....	178
Figure 5.14 Toyota to reduce China-bound production	178
Figure 5.15 Anti-Japan protests affect Sino-Japan trade (<i>fanri shiwei boji Zhongri jingmao</i>)	197
Figure 6.1 Numbers of news reports and commentaries on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature	204
Figure 6.2 Numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature	205
Figure 6.3 Issues under Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature	207
Figure 6.4 Quantitative comparison between original and translated articles (news reports and commentaries).....	208

Figure 6.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals.....	209
Figure 7.1 Numbers of articles on the selected three news events.....	230
Figure 7.2 Numbers of the genre of commentary to the selected three news events.....	233
Figure 7.3 Numbers of the genre of news reports on the selected three news.	234
Figure 7.4 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—BBC UK	235
Figure 7.5 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—BBC Chinese	235
Figure 7.6 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—FT Chinese.....	236
Figure 7.7 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—FT UK.....	236
Figure 7.8 Numbers of issues covered in each case.....	238
Figure 7.9 Numbers of original and translated articles in Bo Xilai’s case	239
Figure 7.10 Numbers of original and translated articles in Anti-Japan’s case.	240
Figure 7.11 Numbers of original and translated articles in Mo Yan’s case.....	240
Figure 7.12 Numbers of original and translated works of the FT Chinese	242
Figure 7.13 Numbers of original and translated works of the FT Chinese	242

Chapter 1 Introduction

The widespread use of telegraph during the second half of the 19th Century marks the start of a global news era. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 34-35) regard global news groups as the “national agencies of the triumphant imperial powers of the 19th Century”, agreeing with Giddens’ claim that media takes part in forming realities rather than mirroring them (1991). The reality forming process is exactly what this study examines with reference to BBC and the FT, the two major Western news media groups.

In this chapter, essential elements of this dissertation will be highlighted, including the context of this research, an introduction to BBC, BBC Chinese, the FT UK and the FT Chinese, media techniques applied by the four online portals, the research questions, literature review, the significance of the study, methodology, and the chapter structure of the dissertation.

1.1.General context of China’s journalism industry

Various research papers have shown that over the past 30 years, China has witnessed dramatic progress of commercialization in the media industry, which was formerly dominated by ideology-oriented party newspapers (Chan et al., 2006; Chu, 1994; Lee, 2000; Zhao, 1998, 2000). In the 1980s and 1990s, the “explosive economic growth” and the “surge of digital communication”, particularly “regional and international satellite and electronic networks”, “created a new and exciting context” for Chinese journalism and media (Richstad, 2000: 273). The commercial form of the Chinese press “peaked with the proliferation of market-driven, mass-appeal,

urban daily newspapers in the late 1990s” (Zhao, 2008, in Yuan, 2013: 81). Commercialisation has provided the necessary “institutional and economic imperatives” for the market sector to be “innovative in terms of both content and marketing” (Yuan, 2013: 81).

Facing the country with the largest population in the world, the public’s rapidly growing demand for more media services and the exhausted “domestic expansion possibilities”(Küng-Shankleman, 2000: 27), transnational media corporations tried to flood into China to take a share in this: “largest jewel in the Asian media crown”. (Herman and McChesney, 1997: 68). In spite of state regulations prohibiting foreign ownership in the Chinese media, there are significant exceptions with central authorities much in control over the terms and areas of foreign entry as China holds a perpetual allure for international media capital (Zhao, 2004: 201).

Nevertheless, “social conditions and contextual characteristics”, as Yuan put it, “necessarily mediate and shape the social implications of technological innovations” (Yuan, 2013: 81). The thinking of the Chinese Communist Party has been paradoxical when trying to keep a balance between market and “national media goals”(Richstad, 2000: 273). On the one hand, the party welcomes the considerable economic benefit granted by the Internet; on the other hand, the potential political consequences of the prevailing Internet make the government cautious. As a result, the government to some extent encourages the development of online journalism, and the online presence of the major party-organ newspapers is proof of this. In the meantime, the government has put in place a series of policies to watch over the Internet.

However, for most other transnational media corporations, the censorship problem is not very difficult to solve. As the *New York Times* put it, “when Western magazine publishers look at China, they see 1.3 billion readers, just as General Motors sees 1.3 billion drivers and Coca-Cola sees 1.3 billion thirsts to quench.” In this transnational communication process, the international media organisations localize their content and modality so as not only to meet the globalization challenge, but also to overcome the challenges posed by the Chinese government.

Through investigating these transnational news media, this study examines the pattern of running Chinese online portals established by foreign news agencies by looking at the aspects of journalistic practices, editing, and overall management.

1.2.An introduction to BBC

The British Broadcasting Company was established in 1922 as a private corporation. In 1925, upon recommendation of a parliamentary committee, the company was liquidated and replaced in 1927 by a public corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation. Now operating under Royal Charter, BBC is supported by a British publicly financed broadcasting system. BBC Trust, an independent 12-member panel, oversees the day-to-day operations of BBC. The British monarch appoints the members of BBC Trust. The two separate systems of BBC Trust and BBC and the tie between BBC Trust and the monarch guarantee independence of BBC although it is ultimately answerable to Parliament.

Andrew Miller (2014), the former chief executive of BBC’s rival, the Guardian Media Group, rather than an academic, has to admit that BBC plays a dominant role

in British media. According to Ofcom's (2014) data, BBC has a 43% share of news consumption, at both wholesale and retail levels in UK. According to BBC Global Audience Measure (GAM), BBC's weekly global news audience, which is measured each year, has increased by 7% since 2014, to 283 million in 2015, which means that one in every 16 adults around the world consumes BBC News. According to BBC's annual financial report, during the fiscal year from 2009 to 2010, BBC's online service increased 14.9%, four times that of the broadcasting revenue (Wang, 2011). By the year 2009, BBC's online service had achieved global influence.

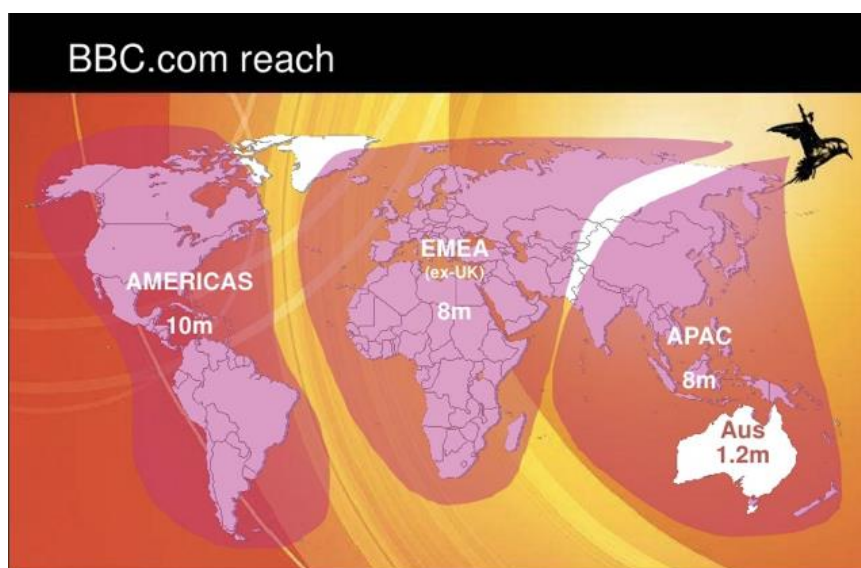


Figure 1.1 Global expansion of BBC online service (Niblock, 2009: Slide 14)

On a general level, BBC reacts fast to the changing landscape of global news media. Based on the specific market needs, BBC World Service has developed several digital innovations over the past decade, including “a new Africa livepage on BBC website, the Thai ‘pop up’ news stream on Facebook, the emergency Ebola service on WhatsApp in West Africa, chat app news services on WeChat and WhatsApp, and the move of all 27 language service websites plus News to a fully responsive

design, which means they can be easily read on mobile phones of all sizes and standards”(BBC, 2016a).

BBC Group generates its income from a number of key sources, each source funding different parts of BBC’s activity (F21):

- UK PSB Group –This primarily receives license fee income and is responsible for the Group’s public sector activities. This includes delivery of its obligations under the Service License Operating Framework issued by BBC Trust.
- BBC World Service and BBC Monitoring –These are funded by Grant-in-aid from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Cabinet Office respectively.
- BBC Worldwide –These generate revenue by exploiting the various assets of BBC, for example licensing formats, the sale of international rights, merchandising and production facilities.

BBC is largely financed by annual television licensing fees, which are paid by those who own TV sets or watch live television transmissions on such devices as computers. It offers five radio networks in Britain, ranging from popular music to news and information services, as well as national television channels. Under its charter BBC may not advertise or broadcast sponsored programs. It is required to refrain from broadcasting any opinion of its own on current affairs and matters of public policy and to be impartial in its treatment of controversy. The publicly funded system endows BBC with a financial advantage that other British news media can hardly compete with. Miller (2014) said, “even though we (the *Guardian*) have a strong network of journalists working in some of the world’s most perilous locations,

we will never have the funding to create an audio visual network on the scale and quality of BBC". At the same time, Miller (2014) spoke highly of the "vital values of impartial and authoritative analysis" of BBC. The principle of "impartiality" in many cases, however, seems to be just a slogan. When reporting on news events in China, BBC English online portal shows a tendency to dramatize and magnify political elements contained in an incident. Rhetorical association such as "doing dirty work for his Communist Party boss"¹, "spill this country's dirty secrets"², reflect a cold war mode of thinking rather than an "impartial" viewing angle.

One year before the Second World War (WWII), BBC started an internationalization process, which according to Küng-Shankleman (2000: 170) is based on two premises: 1), the "strength of BBC brand provides an ideal platform for expansion into international markets and the growth of its commercial activities"; 2), BBC's permitted sphere of commercial activities in the UK is limited. These two reasons are reflected in BBC's "global mission" of "serving specific international audience needs and securing UK influence in the global arena" (BBC, 2011: 2). BBC World Service radio broadcasts began in 1932 as the Empire Service. In January 1938, BBC started broadcasting its first foreign-language radio service in Arabic. Later that year, BBC launched its European Service on radio, broadcasting in French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. In 1965, the General Overseas Service was renamed

¹ Bo Xilai scandal: Wang Lijun 'does not contest charges'

² Bo Xilai scandal: Wang Lijun 'does not contest charges'

BBC World Service. In 1991, the World Service Television News Service (WSTV) was launched. Unlike World Service radio which is funded by direct grant from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, WSTV is commercially funded and carries advertising. Half a year later, WSTV launched its Asian service. In 1995, WSTV was renamed as BBC World, which was launched as an international free-to-air channel. In 2008, BBC Arabic Television was launched. By the early 21st Century, the service broadcast in more than 40 languages to roughly 120 million people worldwide (BBC, 2016b). Today, BBC's international news activities comprise both foreign and English language services in the following structure:

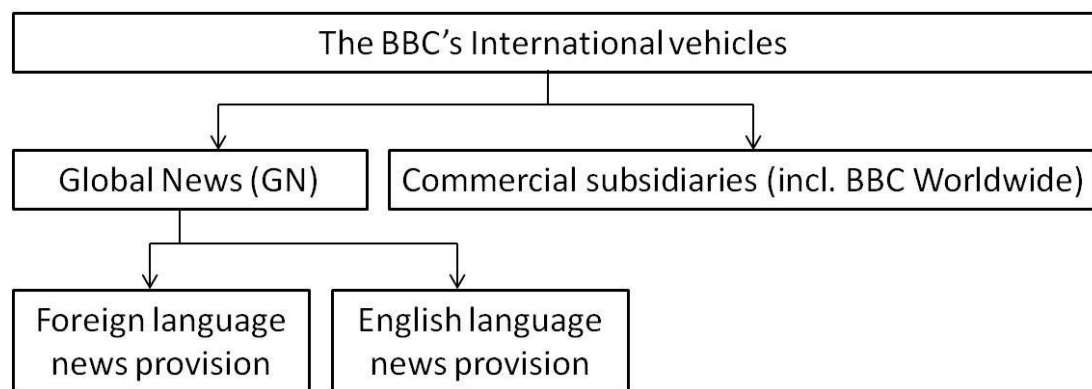


Figure 1.2 BBC international portfolio (BBC, 2011)

BBC claims that in spite of the importance of commercial funding, the goal of BBC's international news services is “not to make money, but to deliver public service objectives” (BBC, 2011: 2). Nevertheless, Alison Woodhams (2006), the chief operating officer of BBC World Service from 2005 to 2007, described BBC World Service as an “autonomous” branch that is “more in charge of its own destiny” than other parts. Hence, BBC World runs things in a “businesslike way” as

a commercially funded international venue (Woodhams, 2006: 12). For the same reason, BBC Chinese has started to commercialize by placing advertisements on its website since September 2015, which has created “fairly high” income for BBC Chinese (Li Wen, 2016). However, BBC World Services basically still fund through the “traditional grant-in-aid route”(Woodhams, 2006: 11).

The global economic recession starting from 2008 has certainly impacted on BBC. During the course of 2011, the grant-in-aid funding fell by £10 m. In 2011, BBC encouraged its international news services to pursue commercial funds as long as the commercial activity does not compete with the public services (BBC, 2011). As Interviewee 2 explained it, grant from British government and license fee from the public are the two funding sources for BBC.

“...it was called Grant-in-aid of the Foreign Office. Afterwards, all of our expenses have come from license fee. The whole BBC now works in this way. None of the money comes from people rather than the government. Just one basket. In the past, each part was stated separately, the Word Service section was supported by the government’s grant-in-aid. Even for this portion, the government gives money in the form of allocated funds, but it does not interfere with our editing principles. It gives us in that format. But now we’re consistent with the entire BBC, the whole BBC keeps the same, depending on the taxpayers’ licence fee. If you watch TV at home, you have to pay about 140 pounds every year. The money is given to BBC to produce programmes and content.”

During the course of 2011, BBC World Services closed around 450 posts (BBC, 2012b: 5). According to BBC Chinese editor who agreed to my interview (2016), BBC has made several drastic rounds of layoffs since 2008. In the past ten years, BBC Chinese has laid off half of its workforce, reducing its employees from nearly 60 to 29. Furthermore, five language services have been closed; other services taken out of radio transmission were made online only (BBC, 2012b: 5). In 2012, BBC World Service was requested to continue to “deliver the savings necessitated by the

Government's 2010 Spending Review which saw funding cut by 16%"(BBC, 2012b: 3).

Thanks to the geopolitical importance of China, BBC Chinese still gets its funding from BBC headquarters (Interviewee 1). According to the strategy made for BBC World Services in 2006, BBC World Services were ordered to "concentrate on regions where the media marketplace is less developed and where audiences have more need for independent sources of news and information, such as the Middle East. Africa, Russia, China and parts of southern Asia"(Woodhams, 2006: 11). Thus, BBC regards its Chinese branch as a crucial asset to spread British influence and thinking patterns within the world's biggest population.

1.3.An introduction to BBC Chinese

In 1945, BBC started broadcasts to China 15 minutes per week as moral support during WWII. In 1978, BBC formally established an office in Beijing as the headquarters of BBC Chinese. By 1992, the 15-minute broadcast had been increased to 24.5 hours per week in Mandarin, and 5.25 hours in Cantonese (Wright, 1992). Wright (1992: 127) stated that approximately two-thirds of BBC World's output was news and current affairs. The news bulletin came from the World Service's own newsroom, and the newsreader translated and read it (Wright, 1992). In addition to news and current affairs, BBC Chinese also broadcast "a very wide range of feature programmes, ranging from arts and pop music to science and technology, and including literature, economy, health matters and other miscellaneous matters". BBC Chinese did launch a website in 1999, however, the online version could only serve

as a subsidiary tool due to the limitations of Internet technology at that time. In 2011, BBC Chinese came to a crossroad: to either close down its short-wave broadcasts or decrease its online news service. Considering the shrinkage of the global short-wave broadcasting market, and the long-term technological interference by the Chinese government, BBC Chinese abandoned its short-wave broadcasting and transferred its focus to the online service. Since April 2011, BBC Chinese portal started to update news 24/7. Plus, a three-minute news broadcast is posted online every two hours, 12 times a day, from Monday to Friday. Some features and interviews are accessible online, and certain high-quality podcasts are available to download (Wang, 2011).

During the past two decades, the relationship between BBC headquarters and its Chinese branch has changed. In the 1990s, BBC UK news centre provided news materials and gave them to other language groups to transplant. BBC Chinese, like all the other language groups, mainly translated the English news and in some cases added simple interviews. After the millennium, each language had to take charge of their own news sources and make their own decisions on their news content. Thus, foreign language groups became editorially independent, marking the switch from centring British news to choosing their own news. The switch resulted in dramatic changes in the content of BBC Chinese as the group can “target more specifically at Chinese audiences”(Li Wen, 2016). Today, 80 to 90 percent of BBC Chinese news coverage is original work. BBC Chinese would still use English or British news if “it is really good” (Li Wen, 2016).

According to Interviewee 1, BBC Chinese currently has 29 full-time working staff, including journalists, editors, and those doing finance work. As BBC Chinese is not

permitted to enter China, BBC Chinese has no office in the Mainland China, whereas BBC has its correspondents' station in China. Approximately two-thirds of the workers work in London, while the others work in Hong Kong (Li Wen, 2016). According to an editor of BBC Chinese (2016), among these workers, about 25 are related to news production. Of these 25 news producers, around 20 are full-time employees, while the others are part-time workers. In addition, BBC Chinese has special correspondents in various regions including Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, Seoul, Paris, Germany, America, Panama, among others. At the same time, BBC Chinese invites special contributors to write articles (Interviewee 1).

The decision of BBC Chinese to stop short-wave broadcasting caused a debate in the UK Parliament. William Hague, the Foreign Secretary, argued that broadcasting has to adapt to the changing media environment (Wang, 2011). This "changing", more specifically speaking, "digitalization" is a challenge that the entire BBC has to deal with. The need for BBC Chinese to develop an online service is even more urgent than in other branches of BBC. The censorship of news media, especially the strict restrictions on foreign news media in China, make it impossible for BBC to enter China in the form of TV or publications, which left BBC Chinese no choice but to launch an online service. Although online portals are also under severe supervision, the virtual nature of the Internet provides possibility for online portals to offer news service beyond official control.

In spite of being blocked ever since its establishment, BBC Chinese still has an audience from the Mainland China from two channels: proxy server or newsletter subscription. As for the proxy server, some Internet users in China actively adopt the

proxy server to browse BBC Chinese online portal, which explains the sharp increase in BBC Chinese visitor volume when big news events occur in China (Interviewee 1). BBC Chinese online portal, at the same time, provides a proxy server to their users as soon as they subscribe to BBC Chinese email. As for the newsletter, BBC Chinese edits news and sends it to users who subscribe to their newsletters. In addition to online tools, BBC Chinese increasingly relies on the influential power of social media in China. Thanks to the sharing function of WeChat and *Weibo* (Chinese version of twitter), BBC Chinese has reached more readers. However, BBC Chinese cannot acquire an accurate statistic of the number of their users in this way (Interviewee 1). In addition to providing the content of BBC Chinese online portal to Chinese readers via technical solutions, BBC Chinese has tried to enter the Chinese market by launching a second Chinese website called BBC UK China (*BBC yinglunwang*). BBC UK China is a culture-centred website that aims to introduce Britain to Chinese young people. The two interviewees from BBC Chinese clarified how BBC UK China positions itself and confirmed the fact that this online portal tries to keep distance from politics:

“From the beginning, we have positioned BBC UK China so as to provide information related to Britain. But the information is more about society, culture, entertainment, education, including English teaching, at the same time sports, the Premier League, than politics.”

(Interviewee 1)

“Its content is just fashionable, for instance, about the earth, culture, travel, capital, future, careers, topics that all Asian people, all human beings are concerned about especially young people. We also have some columns. The columns are about British life, daily stuff, sports.”

(Interviewee 2)

Although BBC Chinese claims that it refuses to compromise with the Chinese government when it comes to the morality of journalism, its compromise is actually reflected through the launch of BBC UK China. BBC can refuse to change its journalistic style, yet, it cannot refuse the economic temptation of the Chinese market. Interviewee 1 recalled the founding of BBC UK China as follows:

“We found that a fairly big part of our content in BBC Chinese was not politically sensitive in China. So we requested to be allowed to set up a second website. This is the birth of BBC UK China.”

So far, BBC UK China has been keeping “a relatively low degree of political sensitivity”. Interviewee 2 also admitted that BBC UK China website “does not have any content that the Chinese government doesn’t like” because BBC Chinese has to “engage this group of its audience”. Furthermore, Interviewee 1 attributed the launch of BBC UK China to three reasons, including introducing the protection of some of BBC Chinese content from being blocked, cooperation with Chinese media companies and holding off-line activities in China:

“...through this website, we make part of BBC Chinese face Chinese netizens directly. This is the first step. The second step, which is in fact more important, is that we could cooperate with giant online media, or online portals through this website...Thirdly, by this platform, we held a lot of off-line activities with our online media partners in China.”

1.4.An introduction to the FT

BBC was started as a broadcaster, while the *Financial Times* (FT) was launched as a finance-oriented newspaper. The *Financial Times* was founded in 1888, and merged with its closest rival, the *Financial News* (Kynaston, 1988). In 1957, the Pearson company purchased a controlling stake in the FT (Grant, 2002). As “cross-border trade and capital flows increased during the 1970s”, the FT started global expansion,

“facilitated by developments in technology and the growing acceptance of English as the international language of business”. On the first day of 1979, the first Continental Europe edition of the FT was printed outside the UK, in Frankfurt. Since then, the FT has become a global newspaper, printed in 22 locations with five international editions including the UK, continental Europe, the United States, Asia and the Middle East (FTtoolkit.co.uk). In 1995, FT.com was launched, providing a summary of news from around the world. In the next year, the website was supplemented with the launch of stock prices. Advertising became the funding source for the website. During 1999 to 2000, the FT integrated the print and online editorial operation (Barber, 2013). In 2012, the FT introduced subscription services. Now, FT.com is “one of the few UK news online portals successfully funded by individual subscription”(Tett, 2013). In 2007, the FT pioneered a “metered pay wall”, which provides a limited number of free articles to users before asking them to register their customer details, and later to pay for subscription (Barber, 2013). Zhang Yan (2015), the president of the FT Chinese, states that the FT’s commercial mode is mainly based on paying subscriptions. According to Zhang Yan (2015), the FT attaches great importance to customer data analysis, which is conducted based on the FT’s subscription pattern, called a “funnel pattern”. Firstly, the FT acquires basic information including age, income and occupation, of readers. Thus, the FT helps its advertising customers know whether their advertisements have successfully achieved their target groups. Secondly, the FT encourages its customers to read a small part of the content free so as to know their reading interests, preparing for the placement of advertisements or recommending specific articles to readers. Thirdly, the FT recommends different content to the paying subscribers, dividing them into standard

subscribers and priority subscribers based on the amount and depth of their readings. In such a “sinking process”, the FT gets prepared for the promotion of new advertisement business and new products based on the characteristics of its customers’ reading interests, time, amount and browsing habits. The FT Chinese adopts exactly the same data-analyzing mode.

Pearson’s 2011 Annual Report (2011: 24) shows that the FT Group generated strong revenue and profit growth with digital and services, which accounted for 47% of its total revenues in 2011, up from 25% in 2007. In 2012 the number of digital subscribers surpassed the circulation of the newspaper for the first time (Barber, 2013) and the FT drew almost half of its revenue from subscriptions rather than advertising (Tett, 2012). On 30 November 2015, the Japanese news organisation Nikkei, which is Asia’s largest independent business media group, completed the acquisition of the *Financial Times* from Pearson, the UK-based education and publishing company, for £844 m (Nikkei, 2015). At the time of acquisition, the FT’s online users accounted for 70% of its subscribers (Nikkei, 2015).

Because of China’s restriction on press and publication, overseas newspapers can only be sold to the Mainland China after printing in Hong Kong or other regions. A time lag therefore exists during the process. Hence, launching an online news service is essential to enter China’s market.

1.5.An introduction to the FT Chinese

Zhang Yan (2013), the president of the FT Chinese, states that as the FT regarded China as one of its most important markets in digital printing, the FT launched its

Chinese online portal in 2005. This online portal was launched in 2005 in two versions, including a traditional Chinese version and simplified Chinese version. The FT Chinese now has an office in Beijing and another in Shanghai, with about 80 working staff (Zhang, 2016).

Interviewee 3 attributed the launch of the FT Chinese to two reasons. The first one is an economic decision based on the vast size of China's market:

"...there's still a very large market, potential market for the FT in China, which the marketing people in London think that many people who would be interested in the kind of news that the FT offers in China are not comfortable reading English all the time. They want something in their own language. The marketing people in London looked at the Chinese media market and they realised that there was nothing like the FT in China. While maybe you could argue that maybe, Caijing or Caixin, or whatever, but still, the Chinese who have high incomes and very high levels of education and are interested in finance and business and all these, at some point, they would obviously start reading more global news and more global media. There is competition for these readers. And whoever is first in offering them their own language content will win them over. So in fact, the FT Chinese is an attempt to promote the FT's brand in China and to make sure that they win over this segment of the Chinese market. So this is an economic decision...in fact, China is now the only country where the FT has something that is not English language. It's only because the FT recognizes that without this, they will never get into this market. So it's something very special for the Chinese market. And therefore I think the content, is a special marketing tool..."

As Interviewee 3 put it, the FT Chinese principally is "a fully owned subsidiary of the FT" and the FT would support its Chinese branch in the case of commercial failure. Lucky for the FT, the FT Chinese gains commercial success in China:

"I know they have been making a lot of money because they run advertising and all that kind of stuff. They are profitable. They also organize conferences, and all that kind of stuff. For that, people have to pay to get in."

In addition to entering the alluring potential market of China, the Chinese branch is also a compromise to China's regulation on foreign news media:

"...as official media publishing in China to Chinese is something that foreigners are

not allowed to do in China...So all the foreign media organisations that have Chinese language websites in China, they do that through some other kind of structure. So the FT Chinese is actually like an advertising company and it officially deals with subscription, and that kind of thing, so its Chinese staff officially only translate FT articles.”

Due to its special identity, the FT Chinese seldom has internal communication with the FT's Chinese bureau, even though they both work in China. In spite of its financial bounding with its British headquarters, the FT Chinese, according to Interviewee 3, enjoys a high degree of editorial independence.

“...this is so tricky, the FT Chinese is completely separated from anything editorial in the FT. So the FT in Beijing, the FT bureau, where the FT journalists work, like me is in Qijiayuan Diplomatic Residence Compound in Jianguomenwai, while the FT Chinese is in this new building, near Sanlitun, somewhere else. When I was in China, I knew who the head of the FT Chinese was, but most of the FT Chinese people I had never met. We did not work together.”

Aiming to bring business information to the growing business elites in China, the FT Chinese has successfully attracted a large readership which mainly consists of highly educated, highly influential and highly affluent young people (Zhang, 2013). Zhang Lifan (2013), the chief editor of the FT Chinese from 2005 to 2015, described their targeted readers as “Chinese business elites, policy makers in China, and people with the highest degree of openness who lead the thought processes in China”. The FT Chinese survey in 2012 shows that the average age of its readers is 35 years. Among these readers, 83% are male, 52% are business decision makers, 83% hold a bachelor's degree or above, 52% has travelled or lived abroad. With regard to economic status, 48% of the readers own more than one high-end luxury watch, 48% have more than one car, and 28% fly either business or first class. In terms of location, 95% of the readers are based in the Mainland China, among whom 50% are from the four Tier 1 cities: Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen (Zhang, 2013). In 2015, the number of subscribers to the FT Chinese reached 2.3 million,

achieving a 10% annual increase (Li, 2015).

According to the FT's readers' survey and traffic analysis, its Chinese readers are "more interested in what's happening in local markets and China's economic development, Asian and China's financial markets, as well as major events in global markets". Accordingly, the FT Chinese assigns half of its content to translated articles which are selected from the FT English online portal, while the other half are contributed by Chinese columnists and commentators (Zhang, 2013). As for reporting news in China, the FT sent four or five correspondents to its Chinese bureau in Beijing and to the one in Shanghai. The correspondents were responsible for the FT only, not for the FT Chinese.

1.6.Digital techniques applied by the four online portals

In terms of technical means, the four online portals have their own specialities. The application of many short videos to news stories is a characteristic of BBC UK. BBC UK inserted dozens of videos to each of the three cases, taking its readers to the scene of the event. For instance, BBC UK inserted a video of a young man vigorously smashing a Japanese-made vehicle with an iron stick into its news story entitled "Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute", making the violence in the protests not only salient but also lively. In some cases, the voiceover of the videos stressed the dramatic elements of the news stories. For example, BBC UK's

journalist described Wang Lijun as the one “doing dirty work for the party”³, making the dark side of the ruling Chinese Communist Party salient with dramatic words. Sometimes, the video shots would do the talking. The news story entitled “Gu Kailai on trial for Neil Heywood death” illustrates this point. BBC UK’s journalist was reporting outside the court when a Chinese guard interrupted and drove the journalist away in a rude way. The camera recorded the whole process and BBC UK broadcast the video without eliminating any detail. In this case, the shot of the interruption demonstrates the Chinese government’s censorship on news reporting in the most convincing way. Despite the fact that the number of BBC Chinese’s videos cannot compete with that of BBC UK, still, it has provided lively video reporting and audio comments to accompany the selected three cases, which according to Interviewee 1 is a new effort for BBC Chinese. As Interviewee 1 put it, they never did video before, but now they also produce a lot of video stuff. They now even go out to broadcast live at big events through video.

In addition to providing video and audio content, BBC Chinese paid a lot of efforts to interact with its readers.

BBC Chinese has a column called “Everyone views China” (*dajia kan Zhongguo*), which provides a platform for ordinary readers to express their viewpoints by contributing commentaries. For example, all of BBC Chinese’s commentaries on Mo

³ Bo Xilai scandal: Wang Lijun ‘does not contest charges’

Yan winning the Nobel Prize came from this column, and half of its commentaries on Bo Xilai's case also came from this column. As Interviewee 2 put it, this column grew out of readers' letters:

“‘Everyone Views China’ is a legacy of radio time. At that time we had a Audiences’ Letterbox, I believe all of the media in China also have this. China International CIR used to have bags of audiences’ letters as well...Now of course it’s email. But we think, after all we have to interact with audiences, right? Since you have sent them to us, we would use them then.”

In addition to “Everyone views China”, BBC Chinese has a similar column called “Commenting on China” (*dianping Zhongguo*). Like “Everyone views China”, “Commenting on China” accepts commentaries from “grass-root”(*caogen*)⁴ readers, and provides a forum for readers of each commentary to express their views at the bottom of the commentaries.

In spite of the effort to be open to readers of various backgrounds with various ideologies, the commentaries of BBC Chinese can only represent partial Chinese people's thoughts because the block on BBC Chinese makes it accessible only to those with strong desire to read BBC Chinese and having the essential technical abilities to get over the firewall system in China. Interviewee 1 also admitted the limit of the BBC Chinese's readership in China.

“I do not deny that on the level of proportion, the academics are the majority. Researchers, including student...In a period of time, the average age of our readers is too high. We have many retired readers, especially those retired cadres, because

⁴ *caogen*, according to Xinhua Dictionary, refers to being of the public, of the folks.

they cared about politics...Especially those senior cadres, when they were at their posts, they had convenience so they didn't have to "get over the wall" to read our news because they had special line. They had been used to reading our news, so they got over the wall to read our news after retirement."

As for the motive for constructing the platforms for readers to express their viewpoints, Interviewee 1 attributed it to the worldwide readership of BBC Chinese:

"...we naturally developed an advantage that we could provide a platform and enable Chinese all over the world to have a discussion. This is what the media from the Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan cannot do because their main target is to attract native people and they can hardly attract people from other regions to browse their websites. We, on the other hand, can provide such a platform. This is our advantage. It is also for this reason that we are doing."

However, as this study focuses on the four online portals' running patterns in the selected three cases, the study does not carry out an analysis on how BBC UK run its forums in other news cases.

We can see that BBC Chinese makes an effort to achieve interactivity, which is defined as one of the characteristics of online news by Boczkowski (2004). According to Kiouisis (2002), the interactivity characteristics refers to "the degree to which the communication technology can create a mediated environment in communication such as one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-many" (in Piyasirisilp and Bunchapattanasukda, 2011: 106). By providing platforms for ordinary Internet users, BBC Chinese breaks up the traditional give-and-take relationship between news producers and news consumers and places more power in the hands of news audiences instead (Karlsson, 2008). Interviewee 1 also confirmed this point in the interview:

"The way we did media in the past is one-way, which was providing content and information to our audiences, no matter listeners or readers. Now this doesn't work. You have to let the audiences participate."

However, this platform is now facing the problem of a lack of resources for contributing commentaries. With the market of the Mainland China remaining shut to BBC Chinese, the lack of readers is a difficult problem to tackle.

“Now we are facing this problem, it’s always the same people showing up. Then, for example, this person always shows up, maybe we should keep him from showing up recently? BBC has to bring in different voices from different people.”

(Interviewee 2)

The two FT online portals have videos as well. However, they function in a different way from BBC UK. Unlike brief news reporting of BBC UK’s videos, the videos of the two FT online portals appear in the form of a feature which conducts a comprehensive analysis of one issue. The FT UK categorized its video into seven categories: Editor’s Choice, Markets & Investing, Companies & Management, World & Global Economy, Life & Arts, Most popular and Latest. The FT Chinese, however, has 8 categories: Editor’s Choice, Politics & Economy, Industry & Economy, Understand at a glance (*miaodong*), Finance, Culture, Coloured Glasses (*youse yanjing*), and High-end Views (*gaoduan shidian*). Unlike the news stories, only a minority of the FT Chinese occasionally borrows videos from its English headquarters. Instead, the majority of the FT Chinese’s videos are original works. Most of the English video shoots appear in the category of Politics and Economy, most of which are marked “English soundtrack” (*yingyu yuansheng*) in their headlines. The categories of Coloured Glass and High-end Views are actually

columns conducting interviews with key figures in various fields. As a matter of fact, the FT Chinese hits a “line ball” (*cabianqiu*)⁵ here. As a branch of a foreign news media, the FT Chinese is forbidden to conduct news reporting activities including interviews. Therefore, the FT Chinese avoids violating the regulation by carrying out interviews in the form of feature interviews irrelevant to news affairs.

1.7. Research questions

My central research question is: how do the Chinese online portals of BBC and the FT operate in China?

In order to answer this question, this study will examine the following four questions:

- 1), How does the news coverage of the selected news events differ between English and Chinese outputs by BBC and the FT on a quantitative level?
- 2), What differences can be found in terms of news framing between the four online portals and how can they be tied to different ideological approaches to their different audiences?
- 3), What modifications appeared during the translation from English outputs to

⁵ a line ball means a ball aiming for the very edge of the Ping-Pong table where a ball is almost out of bounds but remains a fair hit (Lee, 2004).

Chinese and from Chinese to English of BBC and the FT?

4), What strategies did BBC's and the FT's Chinese online portals adopt to cater successfully to the Chinese market?

This study investigates these questions by comparing the two Chinese online portals' operation with their British headquarters through their coverage of three news events. The three news events include: 1), the downfall of Chinese high-profile official Bo Xilai; 2), the anti-Japan wave in China in 2012; 3), Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature.

This study bases its choice of these news events on three reasons: timeline, categories and impact. As for timeline, all of these news events took place in the year of 2012. Thus, the journalistic operations of the target four online portals, namely BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK, and the FT Chinese, occurred in the same timeline, making the comparison fairer and more scientific. As for categories, the three news events belong to three categories, including political news, social and economic news and cultural news. The downfall of Bo Xilai, a high-level Chinese official, is widely regarded as a result of political struggle. Hence, this study puts it into the category of political news. In terms of the anti-Japan wave, the news event swept hundreds of Chinese cities involving tens of thousands of people, which is why this study considers it to be a social event. At the same time, the diplomatic tension caused serious economic aftermath, especially among Japanese enterprises, suggesting that this event also has an economic ingredient. As Mo Yan won the Nobel Prize for his accomplishment in literature, this study labels this news event as a piece of cultural news. Therefore, the comparison of the four online portals uses

their coverage of various fields so that the conclusion drawn by this study can be more objective and comprehensive. In terms of impact, all of the three news events have an impact beyond China. Bo Xilai's downfall had a connection with Britain as the investigation of Bo was triggered by the murder of the British businessman Neil Heywood, which was carried out by Bo's wife. The anti-Japan wave cast an important impact on the Asian-Pacific region as the tension between China and Japan had great influence on the region's economy, and raised the possibility of a regional war. Plus, the United States was also involved because of its strategic interest in this area. As for the third news event, the Nobel Prize is an international academic award; therefore Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for literature is an international cultural event. As we can see, these three news events are not purely Chinese news in spite of the location of the events or the nationality of the actors. Therefore, these three news events are suitable for cross-culture analysis.

By conducting an in-depth comparison of the two prominent news media's English and Chinese branches' coverage of the same news events, the common grounds and differences between the two brands, and between the English and the Chinese versions of the same news media will be identified and analyzed, thus revealing the cross-cultural behaviour of the international prominent news media in terms of journalistic practices, marketing strategies, and technological innovations.

1.8. Significance of this study

The significance of this study is fourfold. First, this study integrated the studies of news media under two different systems into one cross-cultural study frame by

targeting the British news media's Chinese branches whereas earlier studies on Chinese news media isolated Chinese news media from western news media.

Second, this study's investigation and analysis discovered that news media's coverage of a news event could be dramatically different in China and in the UK although they both represent the same brand. However, the reasons leading to the differences are not same for BBC and the FT. BBC Chinese catered to Chinese readers for the criteria of background knowledge of target readers and cultural context in China that influence the news consumption habit of Chinese readers. The FT Chinese, on the other hand, also considered the political context of China other than cultural context and background knowledge of Chinese readers. The reason that the FT Chinese has to put Chinese political context into consideration whereas BBC Chinese does not is that the Chinese government has long blocked BBC Chinese while the FT Chinese still survives in China. As a result, BBC Chinese has no need to cater to Chinese political context while the FT Chinese cannot avoid the political pressure from the Chinese government.

Plus, the FT Chinese operates in a more commercial way than BBC Chinese. A more commercial operation style decides the FT Chinese's more delicate advertising style, more dramatic journalistic practice and closer connection to elite groups in China. The survival and popularity of the FT Chinese in China proves that its commercial operation pattern fits in China's cultural, political and commercial contexts.

Furthermore, this thesis fills the blank of Chinese digital news media research in the field of media study. The section of Literature Review in Chapter 3 shows that researches in the realm of media study still focus on traditional newspapers, while

those on digital media mostly concentrate on western news media. The few researches on Chinese news media discuss the history of Chinese journalism, whereas nearly none of Chinese journalism researches touches the realm of online news media. Even in the field of international media study, no research has been done to compare Chinese and western online news media, not to mention the Chinese branches of western news media that is a unique media group that crosses two dramatically different cultural and political contexts. My thesis is the first research on culture-crossing online news media that is of vital importance to our era when digital news is rapidly replacing traditional newspapers and even TV news programmes.

1.9.Methodology

This dissertation is based on case studies from BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK and the FT Chinese with an aim of revealing in detail how these four online portals frame a Chinese news event and how BBC UK and BBC Chinese, the FT UK and the FT Chinese relate to each other, and differ from each other.

Specifically, quantitative and qualitative research techniques were applied to this study. In this study, the quantitative research took the form of content analysis of the four online portals' news reports and commentaries, whereas the qualitative research relied on framing analysis of the four online portals' news reports, translation study of the translated news reports and interviews with the journalists of the FT UK and BBC Chinese. The aim is to examine and describe the journalistic practices of the four online portals, the management patterns, as well as the connections and

differences between the Chinese branches and their British headquarters. As Singer (2004) puts it, “triangulation of methods improves measurement and helps guard against the danger that findings will reflect the method of inquiry in a misleading way” (841-842). Therefore, this study used various research methods in an integrated way.

1.10. Chapter Structure

This dissertation examines BBC’s and the FT’s operation in China by looking at their journalistic practices. Chapters offer examinations of the two news media and their four online portals from different levels: media policy, media organisational structure and operation, journalistic practice and Chinese news coverage.

Specifically, Chapter 2 presents the context of this study, including the development of Chinese news media and the digitalization trend of global media as well as Chinese media policy.

Chapter 3 introduces theories that this thesis adopts to examine how BBC and the FT operate in China and the methods adopted by this study including content analysis, framing analysis, translation study and interview.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 compare how BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK, and the FT Chinese covered the three news events through content analysis, framing analysis and translation study.

Chapter 7 describes and analyzes the findings of the previous three chapters.

Chapter 8 summarises discussions and makes suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 General Context

2.1.The trend of digitisation

Following the introduction of the telegraph, various technical innovations have brought changes to the landscape of global news media. In the 20th Century, technological innovations have brought an integration of written, oral and audio-visual communication forms to the field of news media. According to Castells (2000), global mass media started to recognize the crucial role of computer-mediated interactive communication in the second half of the 1990s. Since then, global mass media has stepped onto the path leading to diversification and customization.

McCombs (2005: 544) identifies the importance of the Internet in the field of news media as follows:

“The Internet dramatically changed the communication landscape with the introduction of myriad new channels. E-mail, online newspapers, chat rooms and websites representing every ideological, commercial and personal niche have changed the communication behaviours of millions of people across the world and opened vast new territories to communication researchers.”

Andrew Miller (2014), the CEO at the time of the Guardian Media Group, provided examples on this level. Newly emerging news online services including BuzzFeed, Quartz, Upworthy, the *Huffington Post*, Politico, are changing the way of news production, distribution and consumption. Miller claimed that a “new ‘eco-system’ of online journalism is emerging”. In the data from *McKinsey & Company Global Media Report 2015*, the report views the shift from traditional to digital, which is driven by “the growing number of connected consumers, the expansion of mobile telephony and elevated mobile broadband adoption”, as the key feature of global

media industry in this decade. According to McKinsey & Company (2015: 4), for consumer spending as a whole, “digital components rose 11.2 percent in 2014”, accounting for 46.2 percent of the market. “Traditional component of the market increased only 1 percent in 2014”.

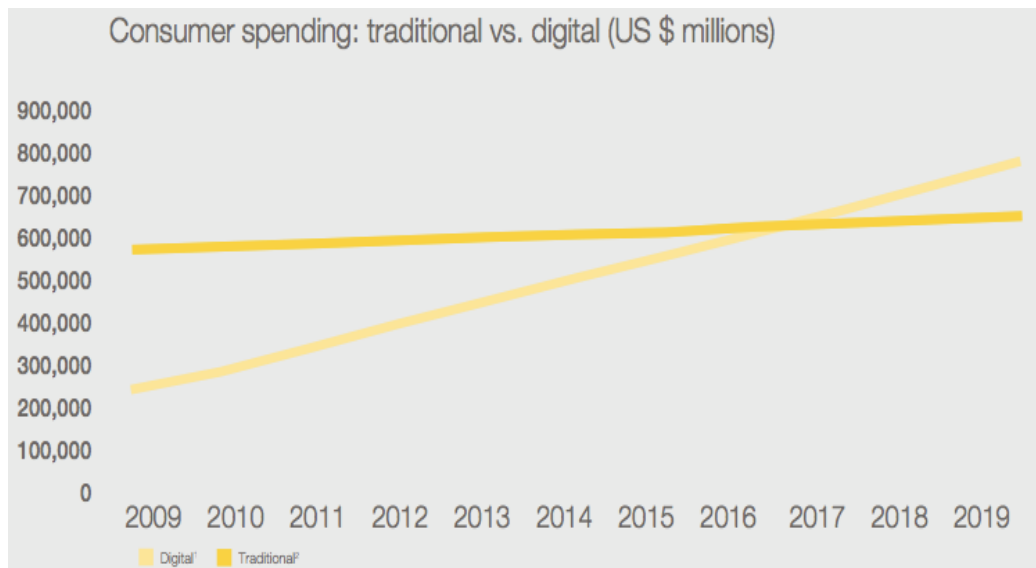


Figure 2. 1 Consumer spending: traditional vs. digital (*McKinsey & Company Global Media Report 2015*, p.10)

Recognising the new digital landscape, traditional news media groups including BBC and the FT embrace the modality of online news portals. However, of the four online portals, BBC Chinese is the only one fulfilling the interactive function of the Web as it enables its readers to participate in news production with columns specifically publishing readers’ comments on news events.

A further step from digitisation of news, the widespread usage of smartphones is mobilising news consumption. Miller stated in 2014 that 40% of their traffic came through a smartphone device that year, while the number was just a “fraction” back in 2011. This is a global phenomenon. According to *McKinsey & Company Global*

Media Report 2015 (p.18), “media access through mobile devices is the fastest-growing sector of global media spending”. The report shows that “mobile broadband penetration rose 24 percentage points over the past five years, nearly twice the 13.5 percentage points increase in fixed broadband penetration”. The report projects “mobile broadband penetration to overtake fixed broadband” by 2019.

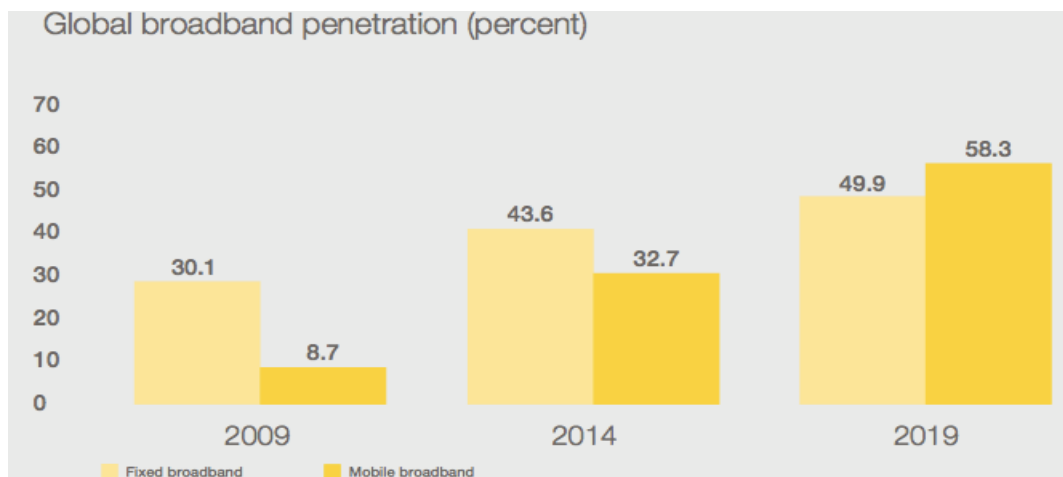


Figure 2. 2 Global broadband penetration (*McKinsey & Company Global Media Report 2015*, p.18)

Facing the mobilisation of Internet access, news media groups including BBC, the *Guardian*, the *New York Times*, are developing free apps. Traditional TV news groups such as CNN, France Television, Russia Today, Al Jazeera, and China’s CCTV have already transferred their focus on live television units to mobile and apps (Miller, 2014). The app of ifeng.com, a prominent news online portal that belongs to the Phoenix Satellite Television Holdings Limited, also updated to HTML5 technology without adding any charge to its users.

In addition to charging for the app, the news site of the FT shows less accessibility than that of BBC. Currently, revenue models of online portals are classified into two

types: ‘paywall’ and ‘open’ (Miller, 2014). The paywall category has a spectrum ranging from ‘hard’ to ‘soft’. A ‘hard’ paywall means that the account is only accessible to paying subscribers, while a ‘soft’ paywall, or the so-called ‘freemium’ model, allows a certain number of articles to be accessed free of charge before requiring subscription (Miller, 2014). The FT, both in Chinese and English versions, fits this category. Miller (2014) criticised this model as a “messy and unsatisfactory approach” considering we are now in a world of BuzzFeed, Twitter or Facebook where “news is not scarce enough to charge a premium to get to it”. BBC, on the other hand, adopts the ‘open’ model, providing news to be accessed totally free of charge. Some may argue that the unique funding source of BBC, which consists of funds from the government budget and the TV license fee, enables it to provide free information. However, some news media like the *Guardian*, the *Mail Online*, which do need to worry about funding, also adopt the “open” revenue model.

Facing this newly emerging eco-system, both BBC and the FT made efforts to adapt to the smartphone era. Since launching its HTML5 mobile web app in 2011, the FT UK has developed an app for Android, its Weekend App edition, Samsung TV app, a luxury lifestyle magazine How To Spend It app and 24-hour news service fastFT. The fastFT is more like a step towards immediacy which the FT lacks in its traditional news service. As for the FT Chinese, it launched its app for iPhone, iPad, Android and BlackBerry 10. Plus, the FT Chinese has developed HTML 5 Web app for smartphones. Non-smartphone users can still log in the WAP mobile phone station of the FT Chinese.

In addition to developing an app in English, BBC has developed several digital

innovations worldwide as well, including “a new Africa livepage on BBC website, the Thai ‘pop up’ news stream on Facebook, the emergency Ebola service on WhatsApp in West Africa, chat app news services on WeChat and WhatsApp” (BBC, 2015). BBC Chinese also joined the wave of digital innovation. BBC Chinese also launched an app, which, however, cannot function in the mainland.

Although BBC Chinese falls behind the other three online portals in adapting to the smartphone era, it beats the other three in catching up with the social media trend in the Mainland China, which is confirmed by the Interviewee 1 in the interview.

“Of course, in recent years, new media continually produces new stuff. For example, in addition to producing a lot of stuff on our website, we also have to do many things on our social media.”

Compared with providing a service to readers, BBC Chinese is more likely to be fed with information from social media, which is a unique phenomenon of BBC Chinese because BBC Chinese is not able to carry out news reporting at the scene due to it being blocked from doing so by the Chinese authorities. When talking about the news reporting of the Tianjin Explosion in 2015, Interviewee 1 explained the key role that Chinese social media played in reporting big news events in China.

“Like you mentioned in 2012, the anti-Japan demonstrations...on weibo I posted, ‘Who is at the scene?’, soon, several responded, and then I said “let’s chat through private messages“. When chatting through private messages, I asked, “can you send me some photos?” And they sent me photos. I then asked, “Would you like to give me your phone number? I’d like to interview you. Anonymously, it doesn’t matter.” Some enthusiastic people agreed. Actually, social media really provided a very convenient opportunity for us. Now weixin (WeChat) is playing the same role. Weixin, for example, news from some Chinese media, such as the capsizing of the cruise boat in the Yangtze River, suddenly we were not permitted to get there. Well, I asked in my weixin group, some people replied... Then we verified, and published the information... Now, the social media, to some extent, fills in the blank of our absence of reporting on site.”

Technological innovations have brought changes not only to the forms of news, but

also to its content. With the continuous information technological innovation, modern news media no longer select news items based on “spatial proximity” (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 32), the temporal factor becomes increasingly important, which triggers a competition to break news. Miller (2014) also pointed out that “being first” in the field of news media has changed from meaning “being first to get a piece of news” to “being first to publish a piece of news”, which has prompted a race in digital innovation. This explains the timely, even fragmented informant updating of BBC Chinese.

2.2. News Media in China

The data from *McKinsey & Company Global Media Report 2013*, shows that media spending in Asia Pacific increased 8.5 percent in 2012, coming in as the second fastest growing region. China, at 16.4 percent, generated nearly half of the total gain. The vast Chinese market attracted attention from overseas media groups. In this transnational communication process, the international media organisations localise their content and format so as to meet the challenge of globalisation.

In the print media sector, the *Jisuanji Shijie (China Computerworld)*, the Chinese version of the International Digital Group's worldwide weekly publication, launched in 1980, was “the first Sino-US joint venture business” (Zhao, 2004: 202). With a distribution of over 200,000 copies, the weekly is now regarded as the most authoritative newspaper in the field of information technology, and has become the first choice for advertisements in this industry (Soubaoad.com). *Elle*, the French consumer magazine, also took an early step to seize the Chinese market in the 1980s.

Up until 2003, 15 years after the launch of its Chinese edition, the Chinese version of Elle, with a monthly readership of 1.5 million, took up 45.5% of the magazine market of Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, which are China's three biggest metropolitan areas (Baidu.com)⁶. Many Western consumer magazines followed these early successful patterns. In 2004, Britain's *FHM* and *Maxim* launched their Chinese editions, which were tailored for Chinese tastes and standards (Zhao, 2004).

In the broadcasting sector, transnational communication also led to “the rise of domestic cooperative enterprise with international media organisations” (Hukill, 1999, in Richstad, 2000: 281). In 1980, CCTV signed an agreement with Visnews (renamed Reuters TV) and UPITN (later Worldwide Television News) to receive international news via satellite. Now, CCTV also receives international news from Asiavision and CNN (Hong, 1998: 361). In addition, Phoenix TV, a Hong Kong based satellite television joint venture between Rupert Murdoch's Star TV, Liu Changle, an overseas Chinese entrepreneur well connected to the Chinese state, and the Bank of China, is one of the few media corporations outside the Mainland China that has landing rights in parts of the Mainland China (ten provinces and cities). By the end of 2010, Phoenix TV reached an audience of 330 million Chinese (CVSC-TNS Research, 2010). In addition, transnational media conglomerates such as AOL-

⁶ Retrieved on 09 October 2013 from <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1973872.htm?fromtitle=ELLE&fromid=211378&type=syn#viewPageContent>

Times Warner have also “gradually taken hold at the margins of the Chinese media system” (Zhao, 2004: 198).

As mobile media and Internet are expanding at high speed, they gradually replace the traditional media and become the main direction of development and driving force for the Chinese media industry. In the meantime, the portion of traditional media in the Chinese media industry has been decreasing, bringing changes to the structure of the entire media sector. PwC’s data (2015: 5) shows that “Internet access is already the largest segment in the Chinese entertainment and media industry by a wide margin, with revenues of US\$41.0 bn in 2013”. Tuinstra (2004: 100) states that since 2000, the Internet in China has developed into the “dominant information provider for academics, the international business community, and journalists”. As this study focuses on BBC and the FT’s coverage of three news events that occurred in 2012, the China Internet Network Information Centre’s (CNNIC) *29th Statistical Report of Internet Development in China* has been selected as it reported on China’s Internet development up until the end of 2011. In this way, this study can keep the same pace as the research targets when they decide their news coverage strategies.

CNNIC reported that by the end of 2011, the number of Chinese netizens (Chinese residents, six years old or above who have been using Internet in the past six months) has reached 513 million, meaning that China has the biggest netizen population of the world.

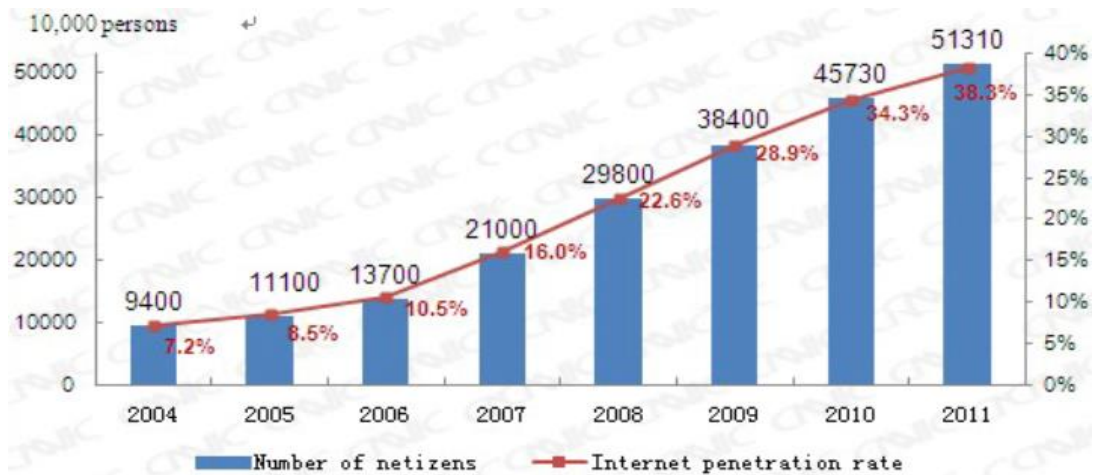


Figure 2. 3 Scale of Chinese Internet users (*The 29th Statistical Report of Internet Development in China*, p.13)

Among these netizens, 74.7% were regular online news users, making online news the fourth most popular network applicant in China (CNNIC). The survey also points out that a typical Chinese internet user is likely to be between 20 and 35 years old with some college education, which fits Salwen et al.'s (2005) claim that better-educated and affluent young adults dominate the Web audience. These half a billion Chinese netizens are linked up in social media and mobile networks. As Schlesinger (2012: 2) puts it, these netizens are “hooked up, on line and having their thoughts and statements and rumours beamed to whoever wants to or is able to or has the time to listen”, pushing ordinary Chinese “closer to the foreign correspondent than ever before”.

In 2011, newspapers and TV took up 31% of the entire media market in China, while online media took a share of 42%, almost half of the media industry (Tsinghua School of Journalism and Communication). At the same time, online advertisement has been increasing at the rate of 60%, overtaking traditional newspaper

advertisement rapidly (CNNIC). PwC's (p. 9) states that "Chinese newspapers are highly involved in digitisation, making content available on the Internet and on mobile devices". In 1998, 82 Chinese newspapers started Internet sites, bringing the number of online newspaper editions to 128. These included the *People's Daily*, which went on-line in January 1997, leading the electronic dailies with 1.1 million daily hits; the *Guangzhou Daily* (850,000 hits); the *Southern Daily* (600,000 hits); the *Xinmin Evening News* (570,000 hits); and the *Yangcheng Evening News* (450,000 hits). Other newspapers including the *China Daily*, the *Economic Daily*, the *China Trade News*, the *China Consumer News*, the *Farmer's Daily*, and the *China Business Weekly* also launched their digital versions (Zhao, 1998).

The rapid digitalisation of Chinese news consumption has created opportunity for overseas news media since it has been prohibited for overseas news media to print or broadcast news on TV and the Internet was, back then, a loophole. In 1999, BBC sets up its Chinese news website, providing both Mandarin and Cantonese services. The *Financial Times* launched its Chinese online portal in 2005. Other than the two research targets of this study, other prominent news media including Reuters, Bloomberg, the *New York Times*, Deutsche Welle, the *Chosun Ilbo*, NHK, also set up their Chinese online portals in the past two decades. Through these Chinese websites, the overseas news media reach the monolingual but politically decisive middle classes across China, "a group left untouched by regular satellite broadcasting" (Hafez, 2007: 118).

To conduct case studies of BBC and the FT in the year of 2012 is not the ultimate goal of this study but an approach by which to examine the operational patterns of

the two news groups. Therefore, it is also essential to understand the general media development trend in China so that this study can evaluate the sustainability of their operational patterns.

According to CNNIC (2016), by the end of June 2015, the number of Internet users in China has reached 668 million, with Internet penetration rate reaching 48.8 percent. By the end of June 2015, the number of mobile Internet users in China had reached 594 million, accounting for 88.9% of the total netizen population. The soaring number of Internet users, especially mobile Internet users, illustrates the necessity for global news media to develop a digital version to satisfy Chinese audience.

2.3.Censorship in China

Censorship is an issue that no news media group in China can avoid. It affects both editorial and commercial operations of overseas news groups. BBC and the FT are no exception.

The Chinese government, on the one hand, seems “willing to relinquish control over certain categories of specialised professional, lifestyle, and entertainment publications”. On the other hand, the authorities seem determined to “get a better grip on media that trafficked in political content” (Yan, 2000: 113-128). As a result of the deep influence of the Soviet Union’s media system, the Chinese media system emphasized service to the party, under complete party control. This idea of serving the ruling Party has manifested itself throughout the entire process of Chinese media development (Yan, 2000).

In 1990, the State Council “listed journalism, publishing, broadcasting, TV, and films as sectors where the establishment of foreign-invested enterprises was banned”. In 1991, the General Administration of Press and Publication (GAPP), a government’s administrative agency responsible for drafting and enforcing China’s prior restraint regulations, as well as for screening books discussing “important topics” (Congressional-Executive), “issued a circular explicitly stating that foreign-invested enterprises were banned in the press and publication sector. Joint ventures or Sino-foreign cooperative enterprises were also banned in principle including those from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan” (Zhang, 2004: 25). In 1994, the Chinese State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT), an agency in charge of China’s radio, television and film industry and directly overseeing China National Radio, China Radio International and China Central television (China-embassy.com)⁷, issued specific regulations governing the use of programmes, including all TV programmes, cartoons, TV series, videos, or CDs that come from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and other foreign countries through purchase, exchange, or as gifts. The regulations state that all such imports must get the approval of the relevant supervising department, and that no TV station can broadcast imported products for more than 25% of its programme time (Yan, 2000). All these regulations together made it impossible for foreign news groups to enter

⁷ Retrieved on 23 March 2016, from <http://in.china-embassy.org/eng/mt/jyjs/t61109.htm>

China through either paper or screen independently.

However, the spread of the Internet started a new era for global news media. Digitisation of newspapers put China's regulations on foreign news media in a weak position because an online portal belongs to none of the categories listed in those regulations. Plus, without using an entity medium, online news portals do not rely on official permission as much as before.

Facing the new digital landscape, the Chinese government carried out new policies accordingly. In 1997, the Ministry of Public Security promulgated the *Regulations on the security and Management of Computer Information Networks and the Internet*. The government attempts to block websites with politically sensitive or sexually explicit content. At this point, Chinese authority makes paradoxical policies. On the one hand, the party welcomes the considerable economic benefits granted by the Internet; on the other hand, however, the potential political consequences of the prevailing Internet make the government cautious. As a result, the government indeed to some extent encourages the development of online journalism. That the government not only encourages the digitalization of major party-organ news groups is a proof, but it also permits some overseas media groups to enter China, as has been introduced in last section. At the same time, however, the Chinese authority has carried out a series of policies so as to ensure its total control over its online territory. To coordinate control and strengthen state direction over the content of the Internet, a new unit, the Internet Information Management Bureau, was added to the State Council Information Office (SCIO) in early 2000 (Zhao, 2004). Then, in 2011, the SCIO strengthened its supervision on the Internet by transferring its offices that

regulated the Internet to a new subordinate agency, the State Internet Information Office, which would be responsible for regulating the Internet in China (Wines, 2011).

Censorship has always been the biggest barrier for foreign news media wishing to enter China. Soon after BBC established its Chinese branch in 1999, the Chinese government blocked it (Interviewee 1). BBC Chinese editor admitted that, “China’s firewall is effective indeed, besides China has money, manpower and determination, so 24/7, it’s really a big challenge to us” (2016). As Interviewee 1 put it, “for BBC Chinese, the biggest barrier that we face is how to enter China”. BBC’s English online portal actually faces the same problem. Interviewee 1 provides a fairly noble reason to explain BBC’s frustration to enter China.

“To be frank, China requires its media to serve the Party, to be the mouthpiece of the Party and the government. However, we do not face the problem, and we won’t do this. On the contrary, we hope to be an independent voice. To be honest, our boss, we do have a boss, our boss is the public. What the public want to know, or what we assume the public have the right to know, no matter whose, a party’s, a government’s or a country’s interest, we may offend, we’ll still report. It is for this reason, we and some other overseas media’s online portals are blocked in China.”

Similarly, news websites such as the *New York Times*, CNN have been shut down as soon as they posted reports on sensitive topics (Bradsher, 2012; Brzeski, 2013). Both the English and Chinese FT online portals, however, have successfully survived the censorship.

In addition to the technical shield, journalist visa control is another barrier that foreign journalists face. According to the media guide published by the International Press Centre, “to make short-term news coverage in China, foreign journalists shall first of all obtain the consent of the organisations or individuals in China to be

interviewed and then apply for J-2 visa to the Chinese embassies or consulates overseas or the visa agencies authorized by the Foreign Ministry” (*Foreign Journalists Conducting Short-term News Coverage in China*). To apply for a journalist visa, the applicant must provide an application letter containing information about the outline of the interview, a brief introduction, a detailed schedule of the applicant’s activities in China and an invitation letter offered by the organisations or individuals to be interviewed (*Foreign Journalists Conducting Short-term News Coverage in China*). Interviewee 1 viewed the visa policy as a method to control foreign journalists. “If they regard your proposed topic as sensitive, they would decline your visa. If they think its proposed topic ok, they would give you a visa”. Furthermore, the International Press Centre published regulations on foreign media’s employment in China (*Hiring Chinese Citizens to Do Auxiliary Work*):

“permanent offices of foreign media organisations or foreign journalists may, through organisations providing services to foreign nationals, hire Chinese citizens to do auxiliary work...Without having the capacity of Journalists/ the capacity as journalists, Chinese citizens hired by the permanent offices of foreign media organisations or foreign journalists shall not engage in news coverage and reporting activities alone. They can only engage in auxiliary work for the permanent offices of foreign media organisations or foreign journalists such as photographing, filming or doing paper work.”

This regulation basically prohibits foreign news media from hiring Chinese natives to do journalistic jobs, as Interviewee 1 said that they were told to “find a BBC journalist with a foreign face” before conducting an interview in China.

Huang (2007, 405) claimed that the 2000s is a period of the start of “a transition of media regulation in China from a rigid totalitarian state control model to a state-media-market-society negotiation model” as a result of a growing “legitimacy crisis,

resistance and challenges from liberal-minded media and journalists, and pressure from both internal and external criticisms”. Zhang (2012) more specifically viewed 2003 as the turning point for journalism in China. As SARS swept China and caused hundreds of deaths in China, the lack of effective government information release was blamed as one of the main reasons that caused the tragedy and resulted in the Chinese government’s negative image in international media. Thereafter, the Chinese government initiated a series of reforms for journalists, including foreign reporters, so as to enhance governance efficiency and their image. However, due to the belief that media must serve the party, China’s media policy still sways according to the country’s stability.

When it came to political incidents, the Chinese government’s supervision of foreign news media would become rigorous. In some cases, the government intervened by force:

“You know the so-called ‘Jasmine Revolution’...there was this one day when there was supposed to be a demonstration in Wangfujing, and that day, I think also some Chinese activists were arrested. And that day was just incredible, the security was everywhere, and once I or any foreign journalist, once we stopped, they would just come by us and push us, and say, ‘Go, go, go, don’t stop here!’, things like that all the time.”

(Interviewee 3)

When it came to the Tiananmen Square incident (also known as June 4 incident), according to Interviewee 3’s experience, things got rough:

“...that was actually 2009, 20 years after June 4 incident, my colleague and I went to Tian’anmen Square, and we wanted to interview people...we went there, immediately four or five of these plain clothes security officers tagged onto us, and they harassed us pretty badly. There was one guy, who grabbed me, it was actually sexual harassment. It was very very bad. He used very bad language. It was horrible. They did that with all the people who looked like they might be willing to talk to us,

so they were just intimidating people.”

In fact, official censorship is a routine regulation on foreign news media, even when it is not a political sensitive time, which is confirmed by the working experience of

Interviewee 3:

“And I have been, interrupted and harassed and followed many times when reporting in China. It was almost the rule, not the exception...I’ve been travelling everywhere, travelling in the provinces, and basically every time we went somewhere we would be followed by police. Once we checked in a hotel, the Waiban (Foreign Affairs Office) would come, and would ask us like ‘what I’m doing here’ and ‘you’re not allowed to’ and ‘go away’, so we would normally have to do our interviews before we checked into a hotel because once we checked in, they would take our passports, and then they called the police and everyone knew we were there. Outside Beijing, it would happen everywhere.”

Besides collective censorship, personal censorship also occurs when foreign news media is involved. Self-censorship on a personal level is initiated out of two reasons.

One is a civilian patriotic act to guard China’s reputation:

“I remember in 2009, when the economy was not very good, and there was crisis in the west, and also in China you just started feeling that there was trouble. So I went to Liuliqiao, there was some kind of labour market outside, where there were lots of people from Henan looking for work. So I went there and tried talking to unemployed workers who had no place to stay. I was just wanting to ask them if the situation, if they felt that there was a crisis, if finding work has become harder and how they were affected. And these were very poor people, and they got very angry, they got angry not because of economy, they got angry at me. They were saying, ‘Why are you asking these negative questions?’ or ‘I’m sure you only want to write negative things about China and make China look bad.’”

(Interviewee 3)

This patriotic self-censorship is a random action, which means that no pattern can be traced for this type of censorship. Interviewee 3 commented that most of the time, she found it “quite easy to find ordinary people to talk to”.

The other reason is political pressure on officials. When facing foreign journalists,

Chinese officials often perform passively and show helplessness, which has been revealed through journalists' interviewing experiences:

"Recently, there was a public protest against the incinerator in Dongguan, a city in Guangdong Province. We made a call to the local county police station, and the police station denied it at once, 'Not so many people, quite few people.' Then we asked more, he answered, 'I can't talk any more.'" The authority must answer in this way. But some progress has already been made. I remember that when I just joined BBC, if we called a city's foreign affairs office or police station, they would hang up as soon as they heard it was BBC. They were afraid of you, you know. Now at least they would talk a bit. They would say, 'I haven't got any information', or 'such an incident never existed', and things like this, they kept low key."

(Interviewee 1)

"Taking Bo Xilai as an example, we took a western viewpoint, 'China is just like this, taking down Bo Xilai is just a raid by Xi Jinping', just for instance. We just used this theory, no matter whether it was true or false, we just wanted to find a Chinese voice to comment on this incident, BBC has to balance between two sides, right? We cannot say it is true because you say it. So, for example, we connected with someone from the Foreign Ministry of China, someone from officialdom, I asked, 'this one said this, do you agree?' Hearing this, the Chinese official said, 'I can't say, can't say, I have to write a report to the above leaders.'"

(Interviewee 2)

In the last three years, China's grip on the media has become even tighter. At the beginning of 2014, President Xi Jinping made himself head of a new group called the Central Internet Security and Informatisation Leading Group (CIS). The CIS was set up to focus on the cyber aspects of economic, social, political and military issues. At the same time, the reporting line for the State Internet Information Office was changed so that it reports directly to the CIS, rather than to the State Council. In October, the State Internet Information Office and the State Administrative of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of China (SAPPRFT) said in a notice that a press accreditation system would be launched for online journalists, overriding the previous policy, which did not recognize them as journalists.

In February 2016, President Xi Jinping toured China's top three state-run media outlets, including state broadcaster China Central Television (CCTV), the party newspaper the *People's Daily* and the state-run news agency Xinhua. At CCTV, Xi stated that "the media run by the party and the government are the propaganda fronts and must have the party as their family name." Xi requested media workers that "all the work by the party's media must reflect the party's will, safeguard the party's authority, and safeguard the party's unit. They must love the party, protect the party, and closely align themselves with the party leadership in thought, politics and action" (The *Guardian*, 2016). In the same month, China's Ministry of Industry and Information Technology and the SAPPRFT jointly released Online Press and Publication Regulation (*wangluo chuban fuwu guiding*), which is set to take effect on 10 March 2016. In terms of foreign media, the regulation says:

Article 10: Sino-foreign joint ventures, Sino-foreign cooperative enterprises and foreign ventures are not allowed to operate an online publishing service.

Online publishing service units must apply for permission from the SAPPRFT before cooperating with overseas Sino-foreign joint ventures, Sino-foreign cooperative enterprises, foreign ventures and overseas organisations and personnel on online publishing projects.

The regulation defines an "online publishing service" as "providing online publications to the public through information networks". As for "online publication", it refers to "digitalized works with publishing characteristics including editing, production, processing, etc., which are provided to the public through an information network" (*Online Press and Publication Regulation*). Targeting foreign ventures or enterprises with foreign investment, the regulation requests all essential technical equipment, servers and storage devices used in online publishing to be located within China (*Online Press and Publication Regulation*). The new regulation

covers a wider range of cultural works than before, adding maps, games, and animations into its supervision list. However, not all foreign news media are affected by the regulation. As for BBC Chinese, “because we have never been permitted in China, so we have always been shielded from the country. So any new restriction on foreign media in China has nothing to do with us. It will just deeply influence those (foreign media) currently working in China” (Interviewee 1).

Ironically, as the Chinese government tightens its control over news media in an effort to construct a more positive image on the global stage, the strict censorship tends to further harm the government’s international image. BBC Chinese editor criticized the Chinese government’s lack of knowledge about western discourse, saying that “the more you ban others from entering, the less the western news media know about you, and when they go there, they can only produce news based on their assumptions, which is understandable” (Interviewee 2).

2.4. Summary

The technological innovations of the 20th Century have ignited the construction of a new eco-system for news media, leading to a sharp increase in the digital components of the global media. Digital consumption of news has been increasing rapidly since 2009, while traditional consumption has been remained stagnant for the past decade. Accordingly, the two target news brands of this study, BBC and the FT, launched their online portals according to this trend of digitalization.

As the wave of digitalization swept the globe, China also experienced two waves of radical changes. For a start, the introduction of a market-oriented economy in the

1980s promoted Chinese media to innovate in terms of content and marketing, starting to bring in foreign media. The second wave of radical change referred to the rapid development of the Internet in China in this century. In the past decade, dozens of Chinese news media have launched their online versions. Plus, the huge netizen population of China attracted tens of foreign news media to set up their Chinese online portals.

However, censorship on news media in China has been functioning as an obstacle that is hard to overcome for both domestic and overseas news media. Censorship on foreign news media has been carried out in the form of regulations and intervention. Intervention includes technical intervention such as firewalls and political intervention from institutions like the Foreign Affairs Office. As a result, foreign news media either started business in the form of a company in another field such as the FT Chinese, or, like BBC Chinese, faced a block from the central government. Nowadays, the central government is tightening its grip on news media. In 2016, China carried out a new regulation banning “Sino-foreign joint ventures, Sino-foreign cooperative enterprises and foreign ventures” from running online publishing services, making it more difficult for foreign companies to enter the Chinese market.

As for the target two news media brands of this study, BBC and the FT, both of them have a long history. The former was established in 1922, while the latter was founded decades earlier in 1888. The nature of the two was different. BBC, functioning as a public company, is now mainly financially supported by the British publicly financed broadcasting system. The FT, on the other hand, has to survive by itself. As for their Chinese branches, BBC entered China much earlier than the FT.

BBC's first broadcast to China started in 1945 as a form of moral support in WWII. Then its formal office was established in Beijing in 1978. In 1999, BBC Chinese launched its online portal. Entering the 21st Century, BBC Chinese, like other foreign language groups, started to take charge of their own content. Nowadays, original works form 80 to 90% of their content. The FT, on the contrary, did not expand beyond Britain until 1979. As for its Chinese version, the FT Chinese online portal was not launched until 2005, almost a decade later than BBC Chinese.

In the face of censorship from the Chinese government, the two Chinese online portals took different measures. BBC Chinese provided a proxy service and news subscription through email to its Chinese users. Moreover, it launched a new online portal called BBC UK China (*BBC yinglunwang*) that is a culture-centred online portal avoiding sensitive political issues. This online portal has been permitted in China, and functions as a partial compensation for the loss of BBC Chinese being totally excluded from China. As for the FT Chinese, it was registered as an advertising company. In this way, the FT Chinese avoided the ban on foreign companies being allowed to become involved in the news media field. Due to its unique nature, the FT Chinese does not have its own journalists. Instead, all of their news coverage is translated from work from its British headquarters. However, the FT Chinese does have its own columnists and academics that contribute commentaries. Hence, the FT Chinese is capable of presenting original commentaries.

Financially speaking, the FT Chinese is more independent from its British headquarters as its various business projects have provided abundant funding for it,

whereas BBC Chinese still has to rely on its headquarters' grants, although part of its income comes from its overseas advertising. Editorially speaking, both of the two Chinese branches enjoy autonomy in editing. Nevertheless, the FT Chinese is more editorially separated from its headquarters because of the company's nature. BBC Chinese has to receive inspection from its headquarters from time to time:

"Firstly, we have the so-called 'on-foot review', the above organizes random inspection on your content, and then probably translate it into English and then people discuss whether the content is good, whether it is timely, whether there is any mistake, and whether it has missed some big news events. That's a fully-covered inspection. Secondly, we have a complaints mechanism, which means that our readers can file a complaint thorough our complaint letterbox, we must, firstly deal with it, secondly, we must report it to above..."

(Interviewee 1)

In contrast, BBC Chinese has its own team of journalists, whereas the FT Chinese has to depend on its British headquarters' news coverage, as it has no right to cover new on its own due to China's censorship.

In terms of readership, the FT targets more on the finance sector that implies a readership with good educational background and middle and upper-middle class level income. In addition, readers in the business sector take up a large proportion of its readership. BBC, on the other hand, aims to provide full news coverage, and has a readership covering various classes and fields. As for their Chinese branches, the FT Chinese, according to its survey, has a readership with good educational and economic status. BBC, however, does not have clear data on its readership because of its underground mode of operation in the Mainland China.

Chapter 3 Theories and Methods

3.1.Literature Review

On 21 October 2016, the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) offered the option of buyouts to its news employees, causing a new round of discussion about the future of paper media's future. Journalists such as Mark Availone of *Forbes Magazine* claimed that the WSJ's action illustrated that print media is dying, which has confirmed Steensen's prediction in 2009. Actually, the WSJ is not the first paper media facing severe hardship in the print industry. In 2015, a wave of acquisition and layoffs swept across almost all of the United State's newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Boston Globe*, among others. In the same year, the British newspaper the *Independent* published its last issue on 26 March. In 2012, *Newsweek* formally declared that it would fully transfer to digital media, focusing on tablet and online publishing.

Against this media background, it is essential for us to transfer our academic focus from traditional paper media to the newly emerging digital news media. Many researchers have recognized the key role that the Internet played in media worldwide (Castells, 2000; Albarren, 2002; Bozckowski, 2004; McCombs, 2005; Steensen, 2009). Some researchers identified the characteristics of online journalism. Online journalism changed the landscape of journalism as news media has been gradually adapting to a user-centred mode instead of the traditional journalist-centred mode (Bozckowski, 2004; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2009; Yuan, 2013). During this process, interactivity and immediacy become two crucial characteristics of online

journalism (Massey & Levy, 1999; Pavlik, 2000; Deuze, 2003; Boczkowski, 2004; Cover, 2006). The lecture given by Andrew Miller, the former CEO of the *Guardian*, rather than an academic, at the London School of Economics provided a comprehensive overview of the digital development of media worldwide (2014). As a new “eco-system” is emerging in online journalism, media organizations must deal with the new eco-system and be a part of it. BBC’s and the FT’s digital innovations including the launches of online portals and smart phone apps all prove their efforts towards this direction.

However, when it comes to online journalism in China, the related studies are not rich as those targeting the western online news media. When it comes to Chinese journalism, some studies worked on the history of Chinese journalism. Lee (2004) systematically divided the development of Chinese journalists into three phases according to the ideological convergence: Confucian-liberalism, Maoist-communism and Communist-capitalism. A comprehension of the three phases, especially the third phase, is essential to have a better grasp of the editing modes of BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese. Although the two online portals belong to foreign media groups, both still have to consider the Chinese media environment that decides their survival not only in terms of the Chinese authorities but also of Chinese readers’ news consumer habits.

Confucian-liberal journalism, prevailing at the turn of the 20th Century, which is the end period of the Chinese feudalist age, served “urban-centred intellectuals, emphasizing the role of statist ideology and seeking to reconcile it with their truncated imaginings of western liberalism as a key to national salvation”(Lee, 2004:

3). The key was to translate “the liberal assumption of individual sovereignty into a Confucian expectation of personal duty to serve statist interest”(Lee, 2004: 4). Maoism and Confucianism both attach importance to the pivotal role of ideology. In the late 1940s, following the declaration of “politics takes command”(Schram, 1976: 11, in Lee, 2004: 8), Mao Zedong added a more populist, radical and voluntaristic character to the Leninist view of the press and journalists that tended to undermine political stability. Hence, the principal that “the media must create social impact in close relation to the grand ideology and political lines” was formed (Lee, 2004: 8). The most typical outcome of Maoism-communist journalism is the *People’s Daily*. Despite the fact that China launched marketization in the 1980s, Chinese media marketization did not “gather its momentum and ushered” until after 1992 (Lee, 2004: 12). However, the marketization was established with Chinese characteristics. Communism no longer exists in China. What remains is a ruling Communist Party “emptied of revolutionary idealism with a monopoly over tremendous coercive power and resources”. Meanwhile, the Chinese government has denied the market mechanisms of a capitalist society. Under this unique circumstance, private capital is denied Chinese media ownership and all journalists are virtually state employees. Lee called this peculiar model of development “Communist authoritarian state capitalism.” (Lee, 2004: 12). Lee (2000) calls the period after the 1990s “demobilized liberalization” as “Chinese media enjoy greater ‘negative freedom’, both chipping away at state commandism and ushering in increasing supremacy of the commercial logic” (Lee, 2004: 15). Pan and Lu’s theory to some extent sheds a light on BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese journalistic practices in China. They argued that journalists take advantage of various discursive resources to “evade,

appropriate, and resist” the controlling strategies imposed by Chinese authority so as to justify what they wish to achieve in the market (in Lee, 2004: 16). As Lee put it, this struggle for Chinese media centres on the “dominant structure” of Communist ideology in relation to the “residual structure” of Confucian intellectual ethics and the “emerging culture” of imported media professionalism in tandem with the market logic (Lee, 2004: 17).

In addition to Lee’s study, Richstad (2000) also briefly viewed the development of journalism, especially a shift from a national-controlling mode to a balance between market and national-management pattern, in China in the 20th Century. Zhao (1998; 2000; 2008) traced the development of Chinese journalism mainly after the open and reform policy of 1978 onwards. His focus lay on the involvement of the Chinese government in the development of Chinese media. Like Zhao, many researchers showed interest in the role that the Chinese government played in the Chinese media market. Yan (2000) analyzed the reasons and the modes of the Chinese government’s tight grip on media and its result. Rawnsley (2006) discussed the function of online media in Chinese politics, especially in the process of pushing forward democracy in his study. Rawnsley believes that reducing the political power of states is different from reducing the ability of states to check and control flows of information. Bradsher (2012) and Brzeski (2013) investigated the blocking of certain western news media’s online portals such as the New York Times and CNN. In spite of the strict limits set on foreign media’s entry to the Chinese market, foreign media groups still found their way in (Yu, 2011). Zhao’s (2004) overview of a series of foreign news media’s entry to China provides crucial proof that taking up a position in the Mainland China’s market is tempting for western media, proving that the findings of

this study would have practical value in the field of media study.

In terms of online journalism, the China Internet Network Information Centre's (CNNIC) annual *Statistical Report of Internet Development in China* provides an annual quantitative overview of Chinese online journalism including the sections of production and consumption. Online media has been experiencing a rapid development, which pushes Chinese news consumers closer to foreign journalism than ever before (Tuinstra, 2004; Schlesinger, 2012). PwC's (2014) *Global Entertainment and Media Outlook 2014-2018, China Summary* lists specific data to provide an overview of the fast development of Chinese digital media. Zhang (1998) studied the digitalization efforts of some Chinese newspapers including the *China Daily*, the *Economic Daily*, etc.

Academics in the field of media study have conducted a great deal of research on the development of western online journalism and on the history and current status of Chinese media. However, researches exclusively on the development of Chinese online journalism are quite limited. Institutions such as CNNIC, PwC and Tsinghua University have only carried out quantitative surveys of Chinese online media, and academic researchers including Zhang, Tuinstra and Schlesinger have only raised this issue either as a fragment of their study on Chinese media overall or in the form of a brief report rather than a specific academic study. As for foreign news media's operation in China, related studies are even fewer than those on Chinese online journalism. Despite the fact that studies on digital media in China are hardly academic studies, related data can still be traced from past materials. When it comes to foreign news media's operation in China, neither qualitative studies nor

quantitative surveys can be found. The closest information to foreign media's operation in China is Zhao's (2004) brief introduction to the launches of the Chinese editions of several foreign magazines. However, none of the media mentioned by Zhao is news media. Moreover, Zhao only introduced the launches of the Chinese versions without introducing how these branches were operated. In terms of foreign news media's operation in China, studies such as those conducted by Bradsher (2012) and Brzeski (2013) mostly focused on the Chinese government's blocking of the foreign news media. Nevertheless, little attention was paid to the content or the modality of the foreign news media.

Due to the lack of related academic research, it is difficult to track down information of BBC's and the FT's overseas operation. This study could only get access to the information through the two news media's own online portals.

BBC's annual reports provide an essential overview of BBC's overseas operation policy and its financial status. BBC's data on its financial status in its Media Centre channel is also an important reference. In addition, some news stories covering BBC were also regarded as important references by this study because they offer crucial glimpses of BBC's operation pattern. For example, Woodhams's interview with the *Financial Management* more specifically explains how BBC World Service ran, offering a glimpse of how BBC widened its overseas market (2006). Capell's (2003) commentary on BBC offers information on the scale of its overseas branches. Wilding's (2011) study provides more solid quantitative data on BBC's World Service audience. Although these three articles do not target BBC's operation in China specifically, the information they provide suggests a possible mode for BBC

Chinese operation pattern. Wang's feature on BBC Chinese broadcasts is the only one source to trace BBC Chinese's historic development.

Information on the FT, however, is quite difficult to track down. Unlike BBC, which is an independent media group, the FT is a part of the Pearson Group. Hence, the FT does not produce annual reports on its own. Instead, its financial status is covered by the Pearson annual report. As a result, the financial report on the FT Group is much more general than that on BBC. Of the 180-page annual report, the FT Group only takes up 2 pages. This report does not mention the FT's overseas operation at all. Still, this study extracts data on the FT's general business status from the report. Besides the annual report, this study can only trace related information about the FT through articles of the online portals of the FT and the FT Chinese. Plus, two interviews with the president of the FT Chinese, Zhang Yan, on WeChat, which is currently the most popular social media in China, provide key information on the operation pattern of the FT Chinese. A video of an interview with Zhang by the FT Chinese also outlines how the FT Chinese wins a place in the Mainland China's market.

Due to the lack of research on BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese, this study has few references to consider in the literature review stage. However, this lack of references furthermore proves that this study is valuable in its place at the crossroad of Chinese study and media study.

3.2.Framing analysis of the four online portals' news stories

The mass media distribute ideology (Gitlin, 1980). Powell (2011) believes that it is through framing that ideology is created and distributed. The angle of a news story through which the event is interpreted created the frame. Hence, the framing theory is a cornerstone for this study as analysis of BBC and the FT frames illustrates ideology distribution patterns of the two news media in China.

Tankard al et. define a media frame as “the central organising idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (1991: 3). Entman argues that to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, or treatment recommendation for the item described” (1993: 52). It is at the stage of framing, according to Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998: 131), that journalists “define problems, diagnose causes and make moral judgements”. Entman (1993: 52) summarised that “selection and salience” are the two essential components of framing. As for “salience”, the term repeatedly used in framing analysis, refers to “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences”. Furthermore, Moyo describes framing as underpinning “the whole process of manufacturing ideological meanings in international journalism as a social practice” (2010: 191). Pan and Kosicki (1993: 57) conceive news media frame as “a cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving”. As it is related to journalistic professional routines and

conventions, framing analysis enables this study to decode the news content constructing strategies applied by BBC and the FT.

According to Entman (1993: 52), frames work in four steps:

“Frame, then, define problems--determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes--identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments--evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies--offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects. A single sentence may perform more than one of these four framing functions, although many sentences in a text may perform none of them. And a frame in any particular text may not necessarily include all four functions.”

Pan and Kosicki (1993: 59) classify framing devices into four categories: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure and rhetorical structure. Syntactical structure refers, for most news stories, is characterized by the sequential organization of structural elements including headline, lead, episodes, background and closure. A generic version of a script structure consists of the five Ws and one H in news writing: who, what, when, where, why and how. News consisting of “so-called issue stories that focus on one issue or topic at a time and report several events, actions or statements related to the issue”, as Pan and Kosicki (1993: 60) put it, contains certain hypothesis-testing features as certain theme is presented or implied and evidence in the forms of the journalists’ observations or quotations of a source is presented to support the hypothesis. This hypothesis-testing aspect of news discourse is called “thematic structure”. Rhetorical structure covers “the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects” (Pan and Kosicki, 1993: 61).

This study applies framing analysis to examining how BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK, the FT Chinese, construct their news stories by investigating the rhetorical structure and thematic structure of their news coverage. In terms of rhetorical

structure, this study looks at the four online portals' intended effects by looking at the rhetorical associations contained in these articles. As for the thematic structure, this study examines the observations and quotations applied by the four online portals to their texts so as to investigate their hypothesis-testing pattern.

Powell (2011: 90) further explains that each category works with the others to "create the overarching frame of coverage that may be thematic or episodic". Iyengar (1991) explains that episodic frames focus on events whereas thematic frames mainly portray the process. Powell (2011) asserts that with the occurrence of an event, episodic coverage appears immediately, while it takes some time for thematic coverage to follow.

Episodic frames appear more frequently in BBC's news coverage than the FT's as 24-hour information updating is a strength of BBC, while the FT applies more thematic frames as it tends to produce news coverage of an intact event. In spite of their different tendencies, this study compares both the thematic and the episodic frames of the four online news portals.

Entman (1993: 51) pins down the four locations of frames in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. Communicators are the ones that make framing judgments in deciding what to say; the frames contained in the text are manifested by the "presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences"; the frames on the receiver's side, however, may or may not reflect the communicator's intention or the frames in the text; the culture itself is the stock of "commonly invoked frames".

This study examines the three locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, and the culture. This thesis replaces the word of “communicator” with the phrase of “institutional agency” because this thesis targets at collective journalistic practice of journalists and editors of one of the four targeted online portals instead of one particular journalist or editor. The institutional agencies, in this research, refer to the four online news portals. The texts are the news stories produced by the institutional agencies, and the culture refer to the cultural and political context in China where BBC and the FT started their Chinese spin-off. In regard of the institutional agencies, this study mainly investigates how they made their framing decisions through interviews with their journalists and editors. As for the texts, this study applies framing analysis to the news coverage. As for the cultural and political contexts, this study looks at the related regulations and the earlier researches in Chinese news media.

Many researchers assert that a news media frame serves ideology, the ideology itself, at the same time, casts a crucial influence on framing (Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad, 1998). Journalists can be inevitably “manipulated by their sources’ imposition of frames ideology on the news” (Powell, 2011: 94). Therefore, the aim of applying framing analysis to news texts is to examine the ideology of a particular news media. In order to examine the ideologies of the targeted institutional agencies, it is crucial to clarify several concepts about ideology.

Ideology, according to Cambridge Dictionary’s definition, refers to “a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party, or organization is based” (dictionary.cambridge.org). Within this definition frame, as Croteau(2003:

159) put it, ideology actually is “a complicated term with different implications depending on the context in which it is used”. In the context of media, Croteau(2003: 160) refers to ideology as “a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgements about that world”.

Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998: 134) expected three types of ideology to cast primary influence on news framing. Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998: 134) define dominant ideology as “views and ideas shared by the majority of people in a given society”. Elite ideology refer to the “particular ideology or policy orientation on the part of the government” (Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad, 1998: 134) However, Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad have not provided a clear definition of journalistic ideology.

I agree with Deuze’s claim that “only rarely has journalistic ideology been adequately defined and operationalized to fit immediate concerns in a pragmatic way”(2005: 443). Deuze (2005: 445) put it that “in the particular context of journalism as a profession, ideology can be seen as a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, including-but not limited to-the general process of the production of meanings and ideas within that group”. Hence, examining a particular journalistic ideology means understanding how a particular group of journalistic give meaning to their news work.

As the research targets of this thesis, BBC Chinese, BBC UK, FT Chinese and FT UK, include two native British news media, and two Chinese branches created by these two British news media, it is necessary to understand the traditional journalistic ideologies of Britain and China so as to identify the occupational environment of the

targeted four online news portals. Furthermore, this study can examine to what extent have the two Chinese online news portals adapt to Chinese journalistic environment.

Although discussion about the nature of British and Chinese journalism is of course very complex, for the purpose of this section on methodology it should suffice to describe in very generic terms. In terms of British journalism, some regard British journalism as market driven and competitive (Franklin, 1997; Esser, 1999; Punie, 2002, in McGregor et al., 2011). McGregor et al. (2011: 631) describe British journalism as “a dominance of commercially derived ‘information-style journalism’, less self-regulation, marketized mass-circulation papers, strong professionalism, and weaker political parallelism”. The journalistic ideology is the decisive factor in shaping a news story. As for the journalistic ideology in China, Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998: 134) characterized it as remaining tightly bound to the dominant ideology in its society. Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad believed that the dominant ideology in China is “communism and its precepts”, whereas elite ideology in Chinese hardly varies from its dominant ideology due to the “Communist Party platform”. Lee (2005: 108) suggests that actually, the models of Maoism, aiming at “mobilization and propaganda”, and Communist capitalism, including dual aims of “ideological correctness and commercial profit”, coexist in China.

Through framing analysis of the texts of the four institutional agencies, this study tries to identify the journalistic ideologies of the four online news portals and their relations to the dominant ideologies and elite ideologies.

3.3.Content Analysis of the four online portals' news stories

Lasswell et al. (1952: 34) defines content analysis as a technique aiming at “describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time”. Berelson’s (1952: 18) description of content analysis as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” illustrates the content analysis’s focus on quantitative analysis. In more contemporary times, Neuman (1997: 272-73) describes content analysis as “a technique for gathering and analysing the content of text. The ‘content’ refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The ‘text’ is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication”. Berger (1998: 116) defines content analysis as a research technique involving “measuring something in a random sampling of some form of communication”. Neuendorf (2002: 10) strictly labels content analysis as “a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method”.

Content analysis has three strengths based on its quantitative nature: 1), the research materials are comparatively easy to get, making it “easier for press analysis as complete archives usually exist”; 2), as content analysis does not interfere with people’s lives, it “entails few ethical problems”; 3), the method “deals equally easily with current events or past events or both” as it “does not depend upon fallible memory”(Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 184).

The relatively high degree of objectivity provides a high credibility to this study. In terms of the quantitative measurement, four parameters are frequently measured: various topics under each issue, volume of mentions, key words, and frequency. Measuring the texts based on parameters of various topics under each issue, volume of mentions and frequency enables this study to compare the targeted four online portals' preference in news genre and news topics. Furthermore, content analysis based on the parameter of key words provides concrete data to compare the results of framing analysis on the aspects of rhetorical structure.

However, the quantitative data can only identify a pattern of news form, not a pattern of news content. The task of this study is not only to trace the question of what, but also to explore the issue of how and why. To complete a full picture of news production by BBC and the FT, this study needs more than numerous data.

Macnamara (2005) constructed a specialized sub-set of content analysis called media content analysis. Macnamara (2005: 6) defines media content analysis as “a non-intrusive research method that allows examination of a wide range of data over an extensive period to identify popular discourses and their likely meanings”. Gunter (2000: 60-61) claims that content analysis is able to “provide insights into the intentions or objectives of media content producers and into the potential impact of content on audiences”. Hence, researchers use media content analysis to study texts in the form of “films, TV programs, and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines” (Macnamara, 2005: 1).

Macnamara (2005: 4) describes quantitative content analysis as collecting data about

“media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, ‘messages’ determined by key words in context, circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency”. Qualitative content analysis, on the other hand, “examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are polysemic” (5). In qualitative media content analysis, audience, media and context are the three key variables.

In this study, the qualitative media content analysis actually overlap with framing analysis as this thesis examines the four online news portals which are institutional agencies, the texts produced by these four institutional agencies, and the cultural and political context for these institutional agencies. The institutional agencies, the texts and the context cover all of the three locations in the communication process. The function of institutional agencies and that of cultural and political context to some extent overlap with the key variables of media and context. Hence, the data drawn from investigating the two BBC online portals and two FT online portals and the cultural and political context through literature review and interviews is suitable to be analyzed by the methods of both framing analysis and content analysis. As this study targets at investigating BBC’s and FT’s operations in China from the angles of the operators, this thesis only examines the variables of media and context. With the humanist approach of interview and literature review, this study investigates the administrative structure of the target news media, the cultural and political contexts in China for foreign news media, and in what way these variables influence their news coverage.

Macmanara (2005: 5) summarised the relationship between quantitative and

qualitative media content analysis as follows:

“In summary, quantitative content analysis can conform to the scientific method and produce reliable findings. Qualitative content analysis is difficult and maybe impossible to do with scientific reliability. But qualitative analysis of texts is necessary to understand their deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences—surely the ultimate goal of analysing media content. So a combination of the two seems to be the ideal approach.”

In summary, this study applies quantitative content analysis to the texts produced by the targeted four online portals to examine their preference of news forms and issues. To supplement the research on the four online portals, this study also carries out qualitative content analysis of the four online news portals and China’s cultural and political context to interpret their journalistic behaviours.

All the texts for content analysis were produced in the year of 2012. I selected the last day of 2012 as the deadline for my targeted texts so that I can put the texts covering the three news events on the same axis of time. In this way, I can to the largest extent guarantee that the texts of a particular news online portal were produced by the same journalistic practice standard. As the timeline goes longer, the risk of some columns disappearing goes higher. However, the problem of limiting my analysing targets to the texts produced in the year of 2012 is that the texts covering earlier news events are highly likely to outnumber those covering later news events in that same year because more time is left for journalists to dig earlier news events deeper. Bo Xilai’s case started in March 2012, which means that I have news stories of nine months to search for texts covering Bo Xilai’s case. The anti-Japan protests erupted in August 2012, hence, I have four months to look at. In contrast, Mo Yan won the Nobel Prize in October 2012, I, therefore, have to look at texts of two months.

Table 3.1 Time period of the selected texts

	Downfall of Bo Xilai	Anti-Japan protests	Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature
BBC UK	15 Mar~26 Oct	19 Aug~6 Nov	12 Oct-10 Dec
BBC Chinese	15 Mar~3 Dec	16 Aug~13 Nov	12 Oct-11 Dec
FT UK	15 Mar~26 Oct	17 Aug-19 Dec	12 Oct-19 Oct
FT Chinese	15 Mar~25 Dec	20 Aug-20 Dec	12 Oct-11 Dec

Nevertheless, I still stick to selecting texts of the same year so that comparisons of journalistic practices across three news events can be put within in one time frame. Plus, the heat of the later two events, did not last beyond the year of 2012, hence, the loss of limiting the texts to the year of 2012 is minor. For example, the FT UK produced its last text on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize on 19 October⁸, and its Chinese branch also produced its last text focusing on Mo Yan's Nobel Prize on the same day in China⁹. Then the FT Chinese produced its next text on Mo Yan on 11 December, but it was a text discussing Chinese literature with Mo Yan as its one example¹⁰. BBC Chinese's interest in Mo Yan's case lasted longer as its last text on this topic in the year of 2012 was produced on 11 December¹¹. BBC UK produced its

⁸ China: how to cash in on Mo Yan

⁹ Meiti zhaji: xiaofei Mo Yan (Media note: consuming Mo Yan)

¹⁰ Wenxue shifou haiyou jiushu de liliang? (Does literature still have the power to save)

¹¹ Zhongguo shejiao wangzhan jujiao Mo Yan huh Nuobei'er jiang (Chinese social media focus on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize)

last text on this topic on 10 December¹². All of the four online portals showed the tendency to wrap up their coverage of Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize by the end of 2012.

3.4. Translation in news coverage

Translation is a process that no international news agency can avoid when entering media markets overseas. Therefore, translation study is a vital instrument to investigate global news agencies' culture-crossing practices. According to the data collected in this study, the FT Chinese does not produce any original news stories but exclusively translated from the FT's English news coverage. Even though BBC Chinese mostly uses its original news reports, a small proportion of its news stories also is translates from the English version. The other way round, BBC English sometimes translates BBC Chinese news stories. Hence, translation is an issue that this study must have a close look at.

Owji (2013) defines translation as a process during which “the meaning of the source-language text (ST) should be conveyed to the target-language (TL) readers”. More specifically, Owji regards translation as “encoding the meaning and form in the target language by means of the decoded meaning and form of the source language”. Miremadi (1991) divides translation problems into two categories, which are lexical

¹² Mo Yan: China's reluctant Nobel laureate

problems and syntactic problems. Lexical problems occur when a word in the source-text language cannot be substituted with a word in the target-language when referring to the same issue or objects. As for syntactic problems, variation of language structures is the cause.

Aiming at solving these two types of problems, scholars suggest various translation strategies. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) provide two translation methods, which are direct, or literal translation, and oblique translation. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995, 34) define literal translation, or word-for-word translation, as “the direct transfer of a SL text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate TL text in which the translators’ task is limited to observing the adherence to the linguistic servitudes of the TL”. Hatim and Munday (2004: 148-149) cite Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1958/1995: 30-31) explanation of literal translation as follows:

“In some translation tasks it may be possible to transpose the source language message element by element into the target language, because it is based on either (i) parallel categories, in which case we can speak of structural parallelism, or (ii) on parallel concepts, which are the result of metalinguistic parallelisms. But translators may also notice gaps, or ‘lacunae’, in the TL which must be filled by corresponding elements, so that the overall impression is the same for the two messages.”

Based on examples of translation between Spanish and English, Hatim and Munday (2004: 11) claim that literal translation “may be the norm between two closely related languages” because of their highly similar lexical and syntactic structures. However, literal translation hardly works in translation between Chinese and English as the two languages differ on both lexical and syntactic levels. Therefore, literal translation is a less effective tool when it comes to translation between Chinese and English.

In translation between two languages with different lexical and syntactic structures, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995: 31, abridged), cited by Haiti and Munday (2004: 149) argued that:

“It may, however, also happen that, because of structural or metalinguistic differences, certain stylistic effects cannot be transposed into the TL without upsetting the syntactic order, or even the lexis. In this case it is understood that more complex methods have to be used which at first may look unusual but which nevertheless can permit translators a strict control over the reliability of their work: these procedures are called oblique translation methods.”

Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) identify three procedures of direct translation: 1), borrowing, which is using source languages terms in the TL; 2), calque, a social type of borrowing in which borrowed expression is literally translated into the target language; 3), literal translation. Besides, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) present 4 procedures of oblique translation: 1), transposition, which involves substituting one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message; 5), modulation, referring to a variation of a message’s form, which is often obtained by a change of point of view; 6), equivalence, rendering a situation with two texts using different stylistic and structural methods; 7), adaptation, a situational equivalence only used in those cases where the type of situation being referred to by the SL message is unknown in the TL culture, through which a new situation is created. The concept of each procedure is used to interpret and analyze the translations of BBC and the FT.

As Hervey and Higgins (1992: 23) puts it, as “the backgrounds, shared knowledge, cultural assumptions and learnt responses of monolingual TL speakers are inevitably culture-bound”, a translation loss of cultural features is inevitable in the process of translation. Hence, Hervey and Higgins (1992: 22-23) argue that the so-called

“equivalence” achieved in translation can hardly be an objective one because “the translator remains the final arbiter of the imagined effects of both the ST and TT¹³”. Plus, Sorby (2006: 114) argues that original English news is not always the same as the translated Chinese version, which is “sometimes with more complimentary or with more derogatory choices of words, and sometimes with either strengthened or softened tones, as well as adding or omitting some sensitive or critical words”. Sorby’s claim exactly suits this thesis because a comparison between the translated texts from English to Chinese and the English original texts or the other way around is carried out in this thesis.

In the case of international news translation, the subjectivity of a translators actually represent the ideology of the news agency the translator serves. Therefore, this study emphasizes on analyzing the oblique translation done by BBC and the FT so as to explore the ideology that motivates their choices in omitting or adding something.

When it comes to framing theory and agenda-setting theory, researches on the application of the two theories in news coverage are abundant. Translation study, however, barely reaches news media, which does not coordinate with the long-existing widely application of news translation:

“BBC has been operating internationally for a long time, CNN has expanded its own offering of global news by linking up with local providers, while more recently Al-Jazeera has developed a news service for the Arab world in Arabic. Reuters works

¹³ Target-language text

with a total of eighteen languages...”

(Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 136)

Therefore, news translation theory is an increasingly important branch of translation study.

Unlike literature works, the main objective of news translation, as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 63) argue, is “the fast transmission of information in a clear way so that it can be communicated effectively to readers”. In addition to linguistic and cultural levels that translation researchers have been focusing on, time, space and genre are the other three crucial elements in the process of news translation. When characterizing news translation, Guerrero (2005: 157-158) quotes Tapia as follows:

- “1. The main objective of news translators is to transmit information.*
- 2. News translators translate for a mass audience. Consequently, a clear and direct language needs to be used.*
- 3. News translators translate for a specific geographical, temporal and cultural context. Their job is also conditioned by the medium in which they work.*
- 4. News translators are subject to important limitations of time and space.*
- 5. News translators are usually ‘backtranslators’ and proofreaders.”*

García Suárez (2005) argues that, cited and translated by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), for a news translator, faithfulness to facts comes before faithfulness to original text. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 63) state that when translating news, “journalists must rewrite texts to make them suitable for their new context according to the rules and practices of the medium in which they work”. In the literary field, the authorship of the original text is bestowed central importance, while it is not the case in journalistic field. Instead, news translation shares similarities with editing. At this point, the concept of transediting fits. Stetting proposed (1989: 371) the concept as “a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating”. Transediting is

widely practiced in various fields such as film and TV translation, journalism, company and institutional brochures (Stetting, 1989).

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 64) classify five “most frequent modifications to which the source text can typically be subjected in the process of translation”, including change of title and lead, elimination of unnecessary information, addition of important background information, change in the order of paragraphs, and summarizing information. The modifications respond to two criteria of “news relevance” and “background knowledge of target readers” (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 64). Through comparing the translated texts and the original works word by word, this thesis identifies the modifications carried out in the process of translation between the two BBC online portals and the two FT online portals. Analyzing the modifications enables this study to examine how the Chinese branches of BBC and the FT cater to China's market. Furthermore, this thesis tried to pin down a translation pattern of BBC and the FT after conducting content analysis of the modifications. Based on the frequency of the modifications, this thesis tries to understand which criteria these modifications respond to. In addition to the criteria of “news relevance” and “background knowledge of target readers”, does any other element lead to the modifications in the translation process?

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) divide journalistic texts into three genres, of which each genre generates specific translation strategies according to the author's personal style: 1), informative genres, refereeing to factual descriptions of events; 2), interpretive genres, texts such as reportage which go through a process of information selection, interpretation, and narration; 3), argumentative genres, mainly

covering opinion articles and columns, in which the author's style prevails., Informative genres provide maximum space for alteration of the original text, whereas argumentative genres offer much smaller space for alteration and a high degree of subordination to the author's style (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009). News coverage produced by BBC show a tendency toward informative genres, whereas that of the FT, especially the FT Chinese, reflect otherwise. Therefore, the translation strategies for the three genres are all reflected in the translated journalistic texts of BBC and the FT.

3.5.Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study to find out about the institutions of BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese, the motives for their journalistic practices, and the opinions of their staff members .

I interviewed two editors of BBC Chinese, and one journalist of the FT UK. Among these three interviewees, two staff including one BBC Chinese editor and one FT journalist expressed their wish to remain anonymous, and one interviewee agreed to give his name (Li Wen, the former BBC Chinese director). In order to appear clear to readers, I named Li Wen as Interviewee 1, the current BBC Chinese director as Interviewee 2, the FT journalist as Interviewee 3. The interview with Interviewee 1 was carried out on 29 February 2016, the interview with Interviewee 2 was conducted on 1 April 2016, and the interview with Interviewee 3 was done on 21 March 2016.

I drafted two sets of structured questions prior to the interviews: one set of questions

for the two BBC Chinese staff, and one set for the FT staff. The questions remained flexible according to the interviewees' responses. I declared my identity, the purpose of the interviews and introduced my research prior to the interviews. The longest interview, which took 70 minutes, was with the former BBC Chinese director Li Wen, while the shortest one, which 32 minutes, was with the other BBC Chinese staff. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed manually later.

The interviews with Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 2 supplement the context information of BBC Chinese and its relationship with its British headquarters I acquired from literature review. Furthermore, the interviews explain the relationship between BBC Chinese and its British headquarters. The interview with Interviewee 3 fills the blank of institutional information of the FT Chinese, and provides concrete evidence of China's regulations on news media.

Chapter 4 Case Study I: The downfall of Bo Xilai

4.1. Bo Xilai and His Downfall

Bo Xilai is a former high-ranking Chinese politician. He is the son of Bo Yibo, who was one of the “Eight Immortals” of the Communist Party of China and revolutionary Red Army commander. “Eight immortals” originally refers to a group of Daoist gods. In modern Chinese politics, however, the phrase means “a specific group of old men who shaped Chinese political life from the 1980s through the early 2000s” (Johnson, 2012). Bo Xilai came to prominence through his tenure as the mayor of Dalian, Liaoning Province, which is located in the northeastern part of China. Here, Bo Xilai and his wife Gu Kailai first met British businessman, Neil Heywood. Close ties were formed between the couple and the businessman. After serving as the governor of Liaoning Province, Bo Xilai served as the Minister of Commerce. In 2007, Bo Yibo died and Bo Xilai was appointed as the secretary of the Communist Party’s Chongqing branch in the same year. This transition was interpreted as a pause for his smooth advancement in politics as taking office in Chongqing is at best a lateral move. At the same time, he was appointed as a member of the Politburo, making Bo one of the Communist Party’s top two dozen leaders. He was widely expected to enter the more exclusive Standing Committee in the fall of 2012, whose nine members enjoy uncontested authority over government policy (Johnson, 2012). In Chongqing, Bo Xilai became well known for two major campaigns: singing red songs (*changhong*) and anti-mafia campaign (*dahei*) (Johnson, 2012). The former was actually a part of a “red culture movement”. During the movement, Chongqing television was ordered to broadcast classic dramas and

red song shows instead of popular soap operas and sitcoms. Besides, students were ordered to work in the countryside, and cadres were ordered to follow the path of the Red Army in their uniforms. The anti-mafia campaign executed of a few corrupt officials and gang leaders, jailed several thousand officials and gangsters, the trial and confiscated large sum of cash and huge quantity of merchandise (Liu, 2011). The Chongqing model gained praises from some high-level leaders including Xi Jinping, the vice president back then, Secretary of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission Zhou Yongkang, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Wu Bangguo, Minister of Organization Li Yuanchao (Liu, 2011). The campaigns launched by Bo were widely interpreted as an effort to enter the centre of power in China during the period of power transition in 2012 (Branigan, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Wines and Ansfield, 2012). Leonard (2012) of the *Telegraph*, on the other hand, commented that "what made Bo so central to the future of China was not so much the Maoist rhetoric, but the mix of populist, egalitarian and free-market policies that he introduced".

In spite of the controversial about Bo within the high-level leadership of China or the rumored resentment against him from Hu and Wen, if it weren't Wang Lijun, once the loyal follower of Bo, Bo's downfall would come much later, or maybe never. On 2 February 2012, Wang Lijun, the vice mayor and police chief of Chongqing and a crucial ally of Bo, was demoted. On 6 February, Wang fled to the US embassy in Chengdu, a city near to Chongqing, to seek political asylum, which "triggered China's biggest political scandal in a generation" (Hunt, 2013). According to CNN, during his stay in the US embassy, Wang reportedly revealed to the US officials a "jaw-dropping tale of corruption and murder in the nearby municipality of

Chongqing involving his boss and the city's mayor, Bo Xilai" (Hunt, 2013). The murder referred to the killing of the British businessman Neil Heywood by Bo Xilai's wife Gu Kailai on 14 November 2011, which had been originally declared to be the result of excessive alcohol consumption. The next day, Wang left the consulate. On 9 February, Chinese state news agency Xinhua confirmed Wang's fleeing to the US consulate of his own volition. On 2 March, Xinhua reported that Wang was placed under investigation. On 15 March, Bo was dismissed as party chief of Chongqing. On 26 March, Britain confirmed its request of reinvestigation of Neil Heywood's death. On 10 April, China announced that Gu Kailai, wife of Bo was being investigated on suspicion of Neil Heywood's murder and that Bo was suspended from the Politburo and central committee. On 26 July, Gu was charged with Neil Heywood's murder and on 20 August, 2012, the verdict was announced, and Gu received a suspended death sentence for murder, which is usually commuted to life in prison. On 5 September, Wang was charged with defection, bribery and abuse of power, and on 24 September, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Four days later, Bo was expelled from the party. On 26 October, Bo was expelled from the National People's Congress, known as China's parliament, which means that his immunity from prosecution was removed. One year later, on 25 July 2013, Bo was charged with corruption, bribery and abuse of power. On 22 September, Bo Xilai was sentenced to life imprisonment for corruption, bribery and abuse of power.

Bo's scandal was regarded as one of the biggest Chinese political earthquakes since 1989 (*The Wall Street Journal*, *the Telegraph*, *the New York Times*, *the Financial Times*, CNN). A number of political analysts regarded Bo's dismissal as a more serious incident than a fallout from power struggles within the leadership as it

involves whether to reform or not rather than a simple struggle for control. Therefore, accusations of corruption against Bo were considered to be “part of a broader effort by Mr. Bo’s rivals in the party leadership to sully his reputation as a populist Robin Hood who wielded his power to better the lot of Chongqing’s poor multitudes”(Wines and Ansfield, 2012). As Wines and Ansfield (2012) put it, Bo’s retro-Maoist culture movement made him popular among China’s political left and a “serious contender for a seat” on the Politburo’s Standing Committee. Meanwhile, Bo’s political standpoint and personality were said to irritate the back then President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao who “appeared to resent his mixing of state power over the economy and society with the promotion of his personal and political interests”.

Bo was not the first one of the Politburo to be dismissed since the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, but he was the first to be openly supported by the public after his dismissal. Chinese government’s soft performance in suppressing the sympathetic expressions towards Bo indicated that Chinese leaders were divided over how to handle Bo’s case (J. M., 2012). The *New York Times* also reported that “Bo’s political allies, including other so-called princelings, or children of party leaders, had privately argued in his defence, going against a push by President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao for the party to act quickly and harshly” (Wong, 2012). In spite of the conflict over Bo’s case, the high-level leaders reached an agreement. On 8 November 2012, a week after the start of a party planning session and two days after the American presidential election, which gave the elders “time to try to conclude their negotiations”, Bo was accused, among other things, of abusing his power in the case of Neil Heywood and of taking “massive bribes” directly and

through his family (Wong, 2012). The *New York Times* commented that “his public airing of such serious and sordid charges showed that “party leaders, including perhaps Mr. Bo’s onetime supporter, the former President Jiang Zemin, had reached agreement that Mr. Bo had to be dealt with severely” (Wong, 2012).

Putting all these news stories and commentaries into consideration, this study categorizes Bo Xilai’s downfall as a piece of political news as the dismissal of him was widely viewed as a political move against his political stand rather than a purely legal action against his bribery issues.

The purge of Bo Xilai was a big case involving three key figures: Bo Xilai, his wife Gu Kailai, and his former ally Wang Lijun. News reports concerning any one of the three figures mostly mentioned about other two figures as well based on two reasons. In one aspect, the case of Bo Xilai was not an independent incident like the purges of other Chinese officials, but an incident exposed by his own “right-hand man” Wang Lijun, who exposed not only about his issues, but also a murder perpetrated by his wife. The investigation of the murder, however, also led the investigators to economic issues connected with Bo, which involved all of the three figures. The three cases constructed an interdependent relationship. Hence, in most news reports reporting on the case of any one of them, the other two names and background information about the other two cases were mentioned as well. The news stories of Gu and Wang reflected the journalists’ attitudes towards Bo’s incident from another angle. Therefore, this study has to not only examine the news reports focusing on Bo, but also include those news stories of Gu and Wang during the course of Bo’s downfall.

Table 4. 1 Key events during the downfall of Bo Xilai

Date	Protagonist of the event	Description of the event
15 March 2012	Bo Xilai	Removed from the post of party secretary for Chongqing municipality
10 April 2012	Bo Xilai	Suspended from the Politburo and central committee
20 August 2012	Gu Kailai	Suspended death for the murder of Neil Heywood
24 September 2012	Wang Lijun	Jailed for 15 years for bribery, abuse of power, defection and bending the law
28 September 2012	Bo Xilai	Expelled from the Communist Party, facing accusations of abuse of power, bribe-taking and violating party discipline
26 October 2012	Bo Xilai	Expelled from the National People's Congress

4.2.Content Analysis of the News Stories on Bo Xilai's case

Using the method of content analysis, this study conducted quantitative measurement of the four online portals' performance in terms of Bo Xilai's case.

Among the various genres of news texts, this study focuses on the news reports and commentaries of the four online portals as these two genres took up the majority of the news texts of the four online portals. A news report "should strive to remain objective and should use neutral language while presenting a diversity of opinions,

voices, and perspectives of the event, incident, or issue under discussion”(Lavid et al., 2012: 5). News commentaries, as Lavid et al. put it, are opinion articles with the “important communicative function of contributing to the formulation of certain ‘preferred’ viewpoints on the world”. The function of news commentaries within the larger context of newspaper coverage is to “offer newspaper readers a distinctive and sometimes authoritative voice that speaks to the public directly about matters of public importance (Wang, 2008: 170). According to the definitions of these two genres, the main communicative purpose of news reports is basically informative, whereas the aim of news commentaries is “analytical, evaluative and persuasive” (Lavid et al., 2012: 5). The texts depicting the process of Bo Xilai’s case and tracing external reactions to the case from various angles belonged to the category of news reports. The articles analyzing the case’s influence and significance and those predicting the result of the case belonged to the category of commentaries as they represent the subjective opinions of the author instead of the voices of external sources.

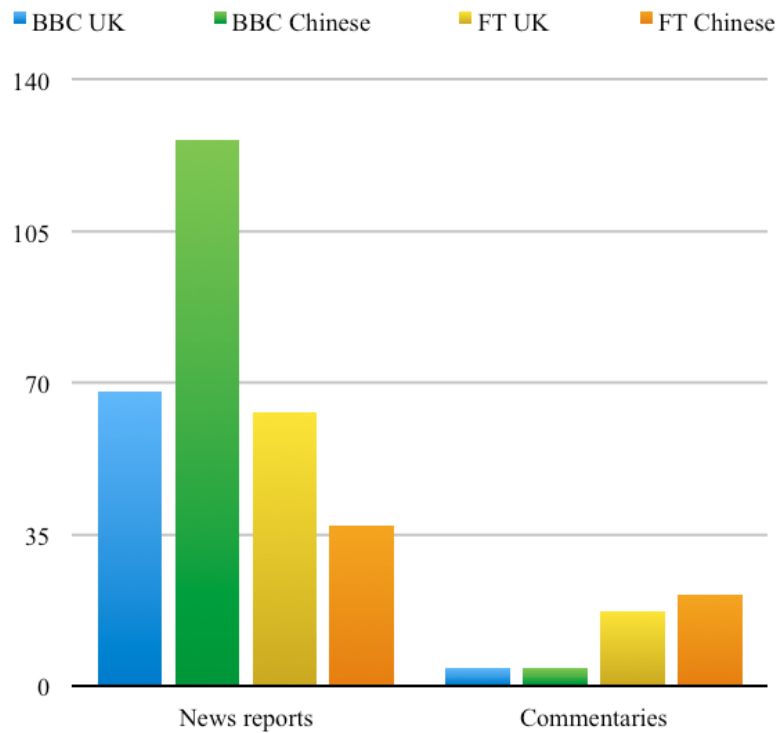


Figure 4.1 The numbers of news reports and commentaries on Bo Xilai's case

The graph illustrates that BBC Chinese was far ahead of the other three online portals in the number of news reports. BBC Chinese produced 126 news reports, whereas BBC UK produced 68, the FT UK produced 63 and the FT Chinese produced 37. The gap between the four online portals in the number of commentaries is not as wide as the gap in news reports. The FT Chinese, whose news reports were the fewest of the four online portals, produced more commentaries than the other three while the two BBC online portals produced few commentaries. The number of the FT Chinese commentaries is 21, that of the FT UK is 17, while both BBC Chinese and BBC UK produced just four commentaries. Despite the fact that all four online portals focused more on presenting facts than commenting on the facts as they all produced more news reports than commentaries, the data indicates a tendency that the FT, including the FT UK and the FT Chinese invested more efforts in analyzing

the news event than BBC, both BBC UK and BBC Chinese.

News reporting, according to Evans (1973), has two sub-types: action stories and statement-opinion stories. Action stories refer to news reports which act to represent material events or activity sequences. Statement-opinion stories are grounded in communicative events such as speeches, interviews and press releases which act to “represent the points of view of various external sources” (White, 1998: 243). In addition to those news reports grounded in China’s government’s and the British government’s press releases and interviews with either experts or officials, this study also puts those news reports presenting other news media’s viewpoints into this category because these texts presented the viewpoints of “external sources”. Plus, it is worth noticing that White provided this definition of statement-opinion stories almost 20 years ago when the Internet was not very widespread, hence it was impossible for White to foresee that netizens would become a force that cannot be neglected. Nowadays, news media have already recognized the importance of Internet users’ ideology considering the vast numbers in this group. As the number of Chinese netizens has reached 513 million, foreign news media start to pay close attention to the opinions of Chinese Internet users when reporting on a news event because the huge number of netizens represent the mainstream ideology of Chinese society. Hence, this study also puts the news reports concerning Chinese netizens’ reactions into the category of statement-opinion stories.

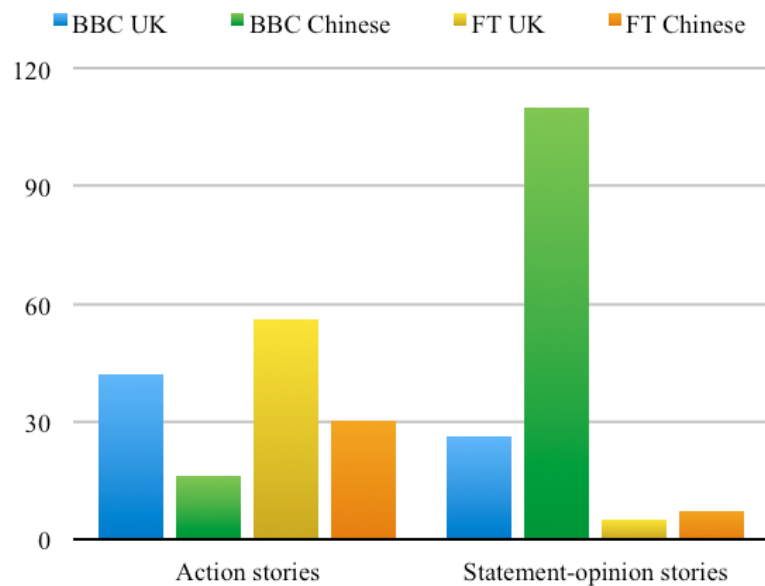


Figure 4.2 Numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on Bo Xilai's case

On the aspect of news reports, BBC Chinese acted differently from the other three online portals. BBC UK and the two FT online portals produced more action stories providing events related to Bo's case than statement-opinion stories about external opinions on the case. On the contrary, the statement-opinion stories of BBC Chinese outnumbered its actions stories by almost 7:1 (110 statement-opinion stories and 16 action stories). The number of BBC Chinese statement-opinion stories is almost five times of that of BBC UK (26), slightly over 15 times of that of the FT Chinese (seven), and 22 times that of the FT UK (five). Unlike the other three online portals which paid more attention to activities, BBC Chinese spent the majority of its efforts in presenting external sources' ideologies. Among the 110 statement-opinion stories, 56 were presenting other news media's reactions toward the case, reflecting BBC Chinese's efforts to keep a neutral standpoint by presenting voices from various angles.

As for the actions stories, the number of the FT UK's action stories is the highest (56), followed by those of BBC UK (42), the FT Chinese (30), and BBC Chinese (16). The gap between the four online portals, however, was not as wide as their gap in statement-opinion stories. In spite of their emphasis on commenting and analyzing Bo's case, the quantitative measurement of the news reports indicates that the two FT online portals paid more attention to the process of the case than to reaction to the case when it concerns news reports. When it concerns subjective opinions on Bo's case, the two BBC online portals mostly presented the people possessing opinions on the characters concerned in their news stories and opinions as evidence of a type of reaction toward the case. Meanwhile, the two FT online portals put those with opinions as commentators and their ideology as a tool to dig into the significance of the case. By adopting different genres, BBC turned originally subjective materials into objective evidence of the tendency of the external society's ideology, whereas the FT magnified the subjective fragment into an integrated ideology and turned the external sources into internal ones.

In addition to identifying the patterns of news from the four online portals, this study also adopted the behaviourist approach to examine their patterns of news content. In general, the news of the purge of Bo Xilai consisted of issue stories that "focus on one particular issue at a time and report several events, actions or statements related to the issue"(Pan and Kosicki, 1993: 59).

The volume of various issues under Bo's case is a crucial parameter this study measured. This study divides the topics of all the news reports into seven categories according to the themes of the news stories: politics, economy, law, media, family,

official reaction, social reaction. The issue of politics refers to topics concerning about the political significance or impact of Bo's case. The issue of economy refers to the economic significance or impact of the case. The issue of law applies to the news stories reporting on the legal activities involved in closing the cases including the details of the crimes, the investigations of the crimes and the process of the trials. The issue of media includes news reports on both news media's and social media's reporting and commenting on the case, as well as the case's impact on China's media policies. Social media here refers to weibo, which means microblog and is regarded as a Chinese version of twitter. It is worth noticing that not all news reports extracting other news media's articles are placed under this topic. Among the statement-opinion stories based on external news media, those focusing on external news media's reaction to the case are put into this category, while those borrowing external news media's news reports on other topics are regarded as news stories under other topics because external news media in this circumstance were simply treated as a channel giving access to information. The concept of "family" mentioned in the topic of family covers the family members of all of the four figures involved in the case: Bo Xilai, Gu Kailai, Wang Lijun and Neil Heywood. As Bo and Gu were spouses and both were protagonists in the case, this study does not count them as "family" for each other. Hence, the news reports about either Bo or Gu do not belong to this topic, while news reports about their other family members do. As for "official reaction", "official" mainly refers to Chinese and British governments. "Reaction" here refers to governments' involvement in the case, including their functioning and commenting. As for "social reaction", it refers to reactions of people from various fields other than government.

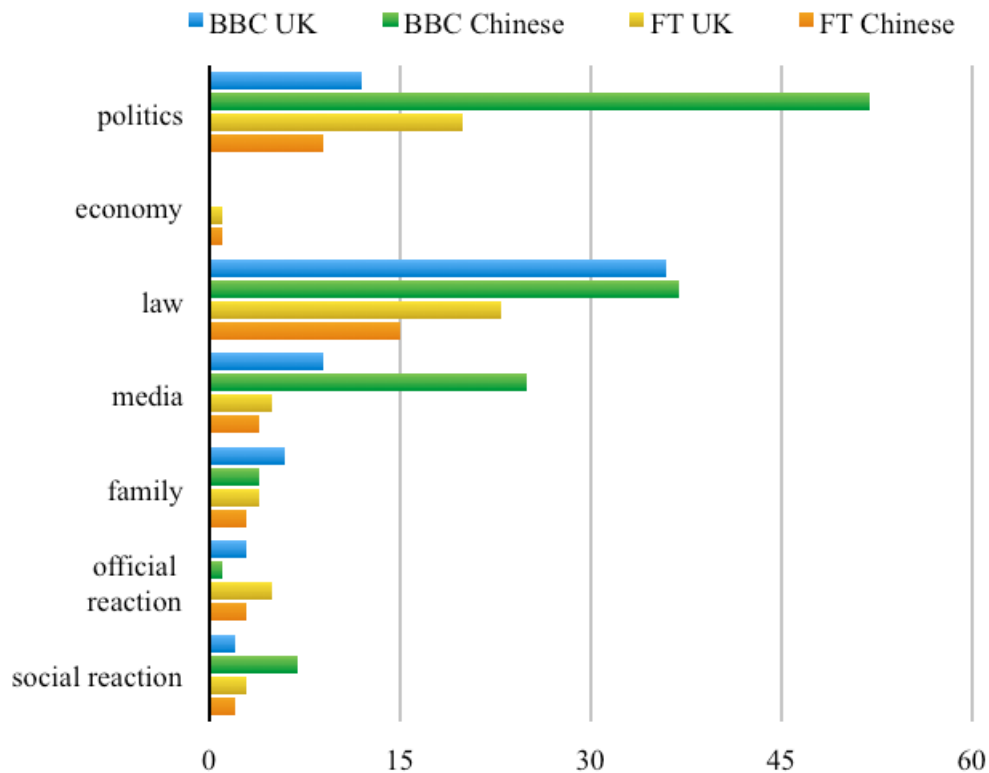


Figure 4.3 Issues under Bo Xilai's case

The graph shows that the issues of politics and law are the two most frequently reported issues for all of the four online portals. The volume of the issue of politics is the highest item among the various issues reported by BBC Chinese (52), meanwhile the volume of the issue of law is highest for the other three online portals (36 produced by BBC UK, 20 by the FT UK, 15 by the FT Chinese). The second highest volume for BBC Chinese is the issue of law (37), while the issue of politics is the second highest for the other three online portals (12 produced by BBC UK, 21 by the FT UK, nine by the FT Chinese). More than doubling the volume of the FT UK's issues of politics, over four times that of BBC UK, and almost six times of that of the FT Chinese, BBC Chinese outnumbered the other three online portals with a wide gap, implying that BBC Chinese treated Bo Xilai's case as a political incident firstly,

then as a legal case. At the same time, BBC UK regarded the incident mainly as a legal case as its volume of topics of law is three times the number of its topics of politics. The difference between the two BBC online portals would be easier to understand if the element of target readers is taken into consideration. For British readers, Bo's case was of interest because a British victim was involved in the case. Hence, the investigation of the murder was the element that was closest to the interest of BBC UK's target readers. In contrast, Bo Xilai impacted Chinese people as a political figure, hence, Chinese readers tended to interpret the case as a political incident. Therefore, BBC Chinese dug deep into the political aspect of the case to serve its target Chinese readers' interest. The gap in the volumes of the top two topics for the two FT online portals, however, is slight, indicating that the two FT online portals tried to find balance between the incident's political and legal aspects by stretching over both tracks. The least covered topic for all of the four online portals was that of the economy. The two BBC online portals did not contribute any economic news stories, even the two FT online portals, whose strength is usually in financial news stories, produced just one news story. Despite the fact that two protagonists of the case, Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun were accused of committing economic crimes, for instance bribery, the four online portals consistently performed weakly in examining the economic elements of the case. When viewing the news from a legal angle, the four online portals magnified the criminal side of the story while they minimized the economic side of the case.

The following graph illustrates the stark contrast between the FT Chinese and the other three online portals in the ratio of translated works. The two English online portals as well as BBC Chinese seldom translate news reports or commentaries from

their Chinese branch or, in the case of BBC Chinese, its English branch. Both of the two BBC online portals translated four news reports from the other branch. The FT UK even did not translate any article from its Chinese branch at all. The FT Chinese, on the contrary, produced few original works. Among the 58 articles (37 news reports and 21 commentaries), 44 were translated from their English version produced by the FT headquarter, reaching a proportion as high as 75.86%.

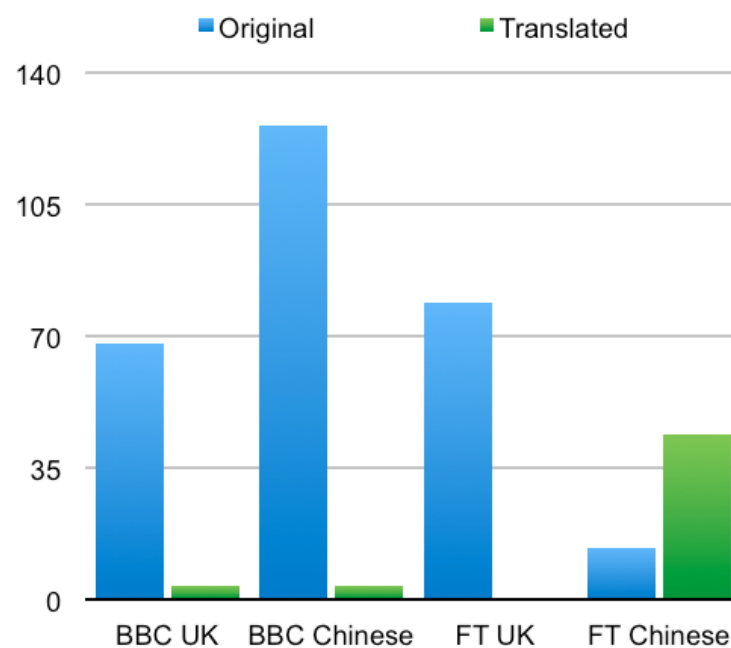


Figure 4.4 Quantitative comparisons between original and translated articles

(News reports and commentaries)

Due to the restriction on foreign news media establishing branches in China, the FT Chinese was registered as an advertising company instead of a news media company, thus, it is not permitted to conduct news reporting for the FT Chinese, which explained its deficiency in original news reports.

When asked about the exclusively English-to-Chinese translation between the two

FT's online portals, the former FT Beijing Bureau's journalist explained the high proportion of translated works in the FT Chinese saying that "they want to translate the FT content into Chinese to make sure that they offer these readers everything the FT has to offer, our best, all our best staff" (2016). As for why the FT UK did not translate any commentary originally produced by the FT Chinese, Interviewee 3 attributed the reason to the Chinese commentaries being unable to meet western standards based on her own working experience in China:

"...if you look at many of the commentaries and analysis on the FT Chinese, it's very, very China specific and it is written for the domestic audience. It is written in a way that Chinese would respond to. It also addresses very specific questions and interests Chinese people have, Chinese who live in China. As a Chinese in China, you may feel that it is different from the way domestic media write. Many people think it's quite critical, quite open, but still, it is, very different from how we write about China for readers elsewhere. And I think, therefore, in London they rather want to keep it separate. I used to live in Taiwan before, so when I wrote about Taiwan, when I was in China, many Chinese readers would be very, very upset, they would say that I was bukeguan (not objective)... But lots of Chinese just thought that my perspective on cross-strait relations on how Taiwan works, what Taiwanese people want or think, they just thought it's completely crazy and they couldn't accept it. Because they have their own subjective view on what Taiwan is or should be, and that is formed by a certain set of principles, because this is a very sensitive topic, in politics in China, and as an international newspaper, if you imagine you would take commentary and analysis that is produced in that context, and you would translate it into English, publish it to a global audience, we would certainly think it's not suitable."

Compared with the dramatic difference in translation policy between the two FT online portals, the two BBC online portals presented a relatively high degree of balance in translation between the two languages. In spite of a difference in the proportion of the translated works, the gap between the two online portals was slight (5.56% for BBC UK, 3.17% for BBC Chinese). BBC Chinese, however, did not enjoy such editorial independence all the time. As this study has mentioned in Chapter 2, it was only after the year of 2000 that BBC Chinese became editorially

independent. Prior to that, like all the other language groups of BBC, BBC Chinese could only transplant and translate news materials provided by BBC headquarters, which was similar to the current state of the FT Chinese. However, since 2000, BBC headquarters requested each language group to “be their own news centre, and to decide what news to report” (Li, 2016). Thus, BBC Chinese terminated its reliance on BBC UK. Furthermore, the degree of BBC UK’s reliance on its Chinese branch has been increasing in recent years, as Interviewee 1 recalled his own reporting experience.

“Frequently they use our information if our news reporting is fast...They would say, ‘please help us write’. For example, once, in November, 2014, I interviewed Shi Yongxin, the abbot of Shaolin Temple. After the interview, which I certainly posted on BBC Chinese, an English colleague saw it, and said, ‘Li Wen, help me write one’. Then I wrote one in English...This happens a lot. My colleagues do a Chinese version first, if the English online portal is interested, they would do an English version accordingly. It happens more and more.”

However, this study cannot provide enough evidence to prove that BBC Chinese is highly editorially independent because the three cases studied in this study are exclusively news events closely related to China. When it comes to international news, the situation would be different. Interviewee 2 admitted that BBC British headquarters is still a key resource for their international news coverage:

For example, international news, I think we have many international news bulletins translated from BBC English. As for Chinese domestic news, it is after all our own business, we don’t rely much on BBC English, conversely, BBC English listens to our advice. But for the international section, as BBC does an excellent job in international news reporting, we would certainly make the best use of this information, and considering our really limited resources, we have to pay more effort to considering about how to share in a better way.

BBC Chinese acquired editorial independence based on a crucial factor: the online portal is based abroad, where Chinese regulations on news media cannot apply. Thus, BBC Chinese enjoys editorial freedom that the FT Chinese does not possess.

In contrast, the FT Chinese, a non-news media company, is not qualified to conduct news reporting in the first place. Under this circumstance, it is unrealistic for the FT Chinese to produce commentaries critical enough to satisfy the tastes of western readers.

4.3.Framing Analysis of the News Stories on Bo Xilai's Case

The frames of the four online portals' news reports are divided into two categories: episodic frame and thematic frame. In the case of Bo Xilai's downfall, an episodic frame focuses on a single event which is a component of the whole event, ranging from the dismissal of Bo to a trial in this case. A thematic frame, on the other hand, mainly portrays a process which is a span of this whole event, ranging from piecing together the process of the murder to reviewing the details of the protagonists involved in the case. In addition to the frames portraying a process which fits the definition by Iyengar (1991), this study also put the frames depicting external sources' comments into this category because these frames did not present an action but external sources' attitudes towards the case. Despite the fact that they did not describe a process, they did portray a trend.

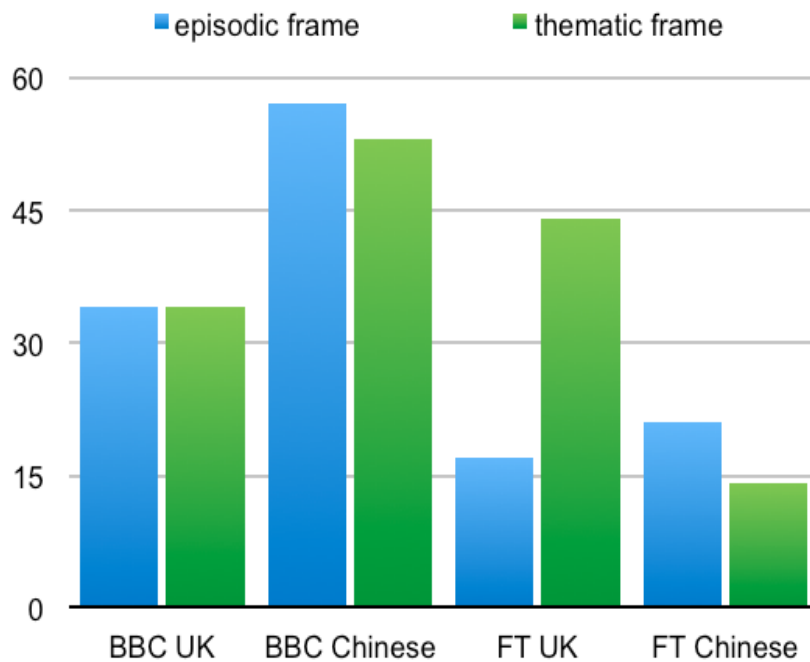


Figure 4.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals

The graph shows that the two BBC online portals kept a balance between the number of episodic frames and that of thematic frames. The number of BBC UK's episodic frames is equal to that of thematic frames (34). The gap between the two frames in BBC Chinese is also slight as the episodic frames outnumbered the thematic ones by four. Having adopted more episodic frames than thematic frames, the FT Chinese also kept the gap between the two fairly narrow (21 episodic frames, 14 thematic frames). When it comes to the FT UK, however, things are different. Not only did the FT UK's number of thematic frames outnumber that of episodic ones, but the gap was also wide. The number of the thematic frames of the FT UK reached 44 while that of the episodic frames was 17, the former almost three times the latter.

The difference between episodic frames and thematic frames in content decides that the former type of coverage appears ahead of the latter by several days because it

takes some time to trace the course of an action or wait for responses to an event. Therefore, the differences between the four online portals' distribution of the two types of frames reflect their gap in news response speed. As Li Wen put it, among all these overseas news online portals in China, including VOA, Deutsche Welle, etc., BBC Chinese always has been considered to be the fastest in constant updating (2016). The high numbers of episodic frames indicate the fast updating speed of the two BBC online portals, whereas the low number of episodic frames implies that the FT UK lags behind the two BBC online portals in updating news information. Although the distribution of the two types of frames of the FT Chinese presents a similar tendency to the two BBC online portals, the pattern cannot illustrate the FT Chinese news updating behaviour as it did not do any news reporting but rather selected and translated English news reports. The pattern can only indicate the FT Chinese presence in news coverage frames. Interviewee 1 admitted that there was a difference between the two Chinese online portals' patterns. At the same time, he also admitted the weakness of BBC Chinese in constructing thematic frames:

“As for the FT Chinese, I can only say that they update quite little everyday, and their news reports are just translated from the English versions. And they don't have original news reports. In addition to this, they find some professionals to write, comment and analyze. They mainly depend on these, the so-called “celebrities” to write to enhance their popularity. So their mode is different from ours. I can also say that of course, we are strengthening our analysis, background information, at the same time of updating information, so we have increased a lot in this aspect.”

In order to investigate the selection and salience that occurred in the news reports and commentaries concerning Bo's case, this study scrutinizes the rhetorical structure and the thematic structure of the texts selected from the four online portals.

When picking samples for analysis, this study picks a group of samples based on various standards. First, this study selects samples of both episodic frame and

thematic frame. Then, this study makes sure that the samples cover both action stories and state-opinion stories. On the aspect of genre, the samples include both news reports and commentaries. At the same time, this study guarantees that no topic under the issue story of Bo's case is neglected. When the number of texts in a category is small, for example, BBC UK only has three action stories in episodic frames covering the issue of family, this study would take all of the texts in this category as targets for analysis. When the number of texts in a category is large, for example, BBC UK has 13 action stories in episodic frames covering the issue of law, this study has to select the texts sharing similar topics with those from other three online portals so that a comparison between the four can be conducted. Hence, the texts covering the issue of economy were not left out because the two BBC online portals did not report on this issue. Thus, it is impossible to conduct a comparison on this issue between the four online portals. Except for this issue, all the other 6 issues were covered in this study. When analyzing the framing of the news reports, this study does not cover those from the FT Chinese because the FT Chinese does not produce news reports but just translates those from the FT UK. Thus, this study deals with the FT Chinese translated news reports in the section of translation study. As for framing of the FT Chinese, this study conducts an analysis of the online portal when working on commentaries.

4.4.BBC UK's news coverage

Thematic structure is the most frequently adopted framing device for BBC UK when reporting on Bo Xilai's case. BBC UK constructed thematic structure in the forms of observation and quotation. The difference between the frequency of the use of these

two forms is not obvious.

“Bo Xilai’s life in the fast lane” set up its thematic structure in the forms of observation and quotation. The writer quoted from a senior Chinese official: “Mr. Bo is always so well-dressed”. The quotation served as evidence supporting the writer’s hypothesis that Bo enjoyed an “extremely expensive life-style”. Compared with quotation, this form of observation was adopted more frequently. To provide evidence for Bo’s luxury lifestyle, the journalist presented his observation of Bo’s office in Dalian, in which a console had been installed to enable Bo to “choose at the press of a button which colour the water in the fountains throughout the city should be”. To provide evidence for the hypothesis of the central government’s “digging dirt on” Bo, the journalist used his observation of a mysterious interview requested by a woman with him about Bo. “At the end of our interview she gave me a card with the name of her newspaper on it. Later, when I checked it out on the web, I could not find any reference to it, and although the telephone number rang, no-one answered.” To provide evidence for the hypothesis of Bo’s “questionable” work procedures, the journalist recalled his observation of being followed by a police car when they visited Chongqing. The three selected observations tested the journalist’s hypothesis about Bo’s “elegant” lifestyle, the central government’s conspiracy against Bo and his “ambitious” working style.

Among the hypotheses posed by BBC UK, the elite ideology’s dominant role in China is a salient one. As elite ideology refers to the ideology of a government, Chinese elite ideology represents the communist ideology. To portray Chinese elite ideology with regard to Bo Xilai, BBC UK mainly observed and quoted Xinhua and

Chinese top officials.

The news story entitled “Top chief says Bo Xilai scandal ‘damaged’ China’s image” adopted the form of quotations. All of the quotations were cited from Zhang Dejiang, the new leader of Chongqing. The first quotation appeared in the title saying that Bo’s scandal “damaged” the image of China. In the episode, the story quoted one paragraph of Zhang’s speech, which contained the sentence cited in the title. This quotation was directed against the impact of Bo’s scandal on the party, the image of the country and Chongqing. According to this quotation, the scandal’s “damage” to the party came first, followed by that to the country’s “image”, and that to Chongqing, the city governed by Bo, came last. In the lead, the story even removed the mentioning of Chongqing so as to make the Communist Party’s close attention to its “image” more salient. Then the story quoted that Bo’s scandal should be separated from Chongqing’s achievements and the hard work of other officials. The last quotation was from Zhang, stressing the importance of the law¹⁴.

To present the Chinese government’s efforts to ensure the dominant position of its ideology, BBC UK highlighted the Chinese government’s censorship of the media. To achieve this goal, BBC UK depended on thematic structure in the form of observation.

¹⁴ Other examples include “China morning round-up: ‘Sacking Bo Xilai is right’”, and “China morning round-up: More attacks on Bo Xilai”.

The statement-opinion story entitled “Netizens criticize Gu Kailai’s sentence” illustrates this point. For a start, the story observed that “the names of some of the key players in the case-Bo Xilai, Neil Heywood-remain blocked” in its episodes. Then the story provided an observation that:

“There are still signs of censorship among these search results display irregularly and are accompanied by a message which says: “According to relevant laws and regulations and policies, part of the search results are not displayed.”

In addition to censorship, the story also contained a theme of legal injustice in China. For this theme, the story provided evidence in the form of quotation. In total, the story cited seven quotations complaining about the injustice of Chinese law, making discontent with the legal system of China salient.

“Accounts of evidence from Heywood murder trial” applied the forms of observation and quotations to its thematic structure. By accounting that foreign media were banned from the courtroom, the story provided the observational evidence that the trial was not open to the media. By quoting the courtroom observer who said that “writing materials, ‘even a pencil’, had been banned from the courtroom”, the story made the Chinese government’s grip on the press salient¹⁵.

In addition to the forced dominance of elite ideology, the divergence between the elite ideology and dominant ideology in China is also a salient theme. Through the

¹⁵ Other examples include “Netizens debate Bo Xilai despite censorship”, “Doubts raised over Neil Heywood death”, “US website covering China’s Bo Xilai scandal hacked”, and “Gu Kailai charged with Heywood murder”.

framing device of thematic structure in the forms of quotation of party leaders and state media and observation of state media's reporting on the scandal, BBC UK presented the elite ideology on Bo's scandal as setting Bo as an example of the party's strict enforcement of law. Meanwhile, the dominant ideology was framed as regarding the scandal as a result of political conflict and criticism of the injustice in law by quoting academics and netizens from social media.

"China state media curt on Bo sacking, social media divided" is an example. The story used the framing device of thematic structure in the form of observation. The story presented a series of Chinese state media's reporting on the dismissal of Bo, proving that state media acted cautiously about the case. In stark contrast, the story observed that Bo's downfall stirred fierce discussion on social media that there had been "about 190,000 posts on the country's main microblogging platforms Tencent Weibo and Sina Weibo 'within four hours of the announcement'". The sharp contrast highlighted China's tight grip on news media. Furthermore, the observation that "some users reserved their praise or condemnation for the secretive workings of China's political system." clearly accused China of censoring media¹⁶.

The one entitled "Does Chongqing miss former 'emperor' Bo Xilai?" showed sympathy toward Bo through the forms of observation and quotation. The story observed that in Chongqing "some are celebrating Mr. Bo's demise. But many say

¹⁶ Other examples include "Doubts raised over Neil Heywood death", and "China open letter opposes Bo Xilai parliament expulsion".

they miss a man who inspired genuine affection”, implying that the majority of Chongqing locals were emotionally attached to Bo. As for quotations, the story cited from one opponent who was a government official, saying that “we were afraid to speak out when he was in charge”. However, the quotation was followed by an observation that was supportive of Bo, “But with his populist agenda, such as projects to build affordable social housing, Mr. Bo commanded huge support in the city.” The observation was further supported by two quotations from taxi drivers who spoke highly of Bo. Afterwards, the story observed that “Mr. Bo won strong support from those who had been marginalised during China’s economic boom”, intensifying the achievements of Bo. In the closing part, the story firstly cited from a commentator that “basically everyone in China believes officials are corrupt, but at least Bo Xilai did something for the people, so many here can forgive him for his errors”, making the supportive attitude to Bo salient. Then the story commented that “China’s leaders may have got rid of the man who led Chongqing in such a high-profile manner. But the biggest challenges facing them remain the social issues that Bo Xilai tried to address”, highlighting the positive image of Bo.

In addition to thematic structure, rhetorical structure is also a crucial framing device utilized by BBC UK. Dramatic wording is the most widely adopted framing tool. Of the dramatic words adopted by BBC UK, the majority served the goal of highlighting Bo’s personality. Dramatic words such as “charismatic”, “flamboyant”, “high-flier”, “ambitious” appeared in more than one news story. Among these key words, “charismatic” was the most frequently used word as it was adopted nine times. These words together stressed Bo’s personal charm. With these dramatic words, BBC UK also set up a stereotype of “western style” politicians and Chinese-style politicians.

“China parliament expels disgraced politician” referred to Bo with dramatic words such as “high-flier”¹⁷ and a “charismatic politician”¹⁸, making the image of Bo’s charm salient.

“Bo Xilai removed by China from Chongqing leader post” used the sentence “the flamboyant Bo Xilai is the nearest thing China has to a Western-style politician”, putting Bo into a category called “western-style politician”. Without giving an explanation of the concept of “western style”, the story labeled the vast number of leaders as one type called “western style politician”. Furthermore, the story adopted three highly positive key words to imply the characteristic of “western style”: “suave”, “flamboyant”¹⁹, “charismatic”. Thus, all western politicians were stereotyped as charming and elegant. By describing Bo as the “nearest thing China has to a Western-style politician”, the new coverage categorized the other tens of thousands of Chinese politicians as being on the opposing side to “western-style”, maybe “Chinese style” or “eastern style”. Plus, as Bo was described as “suave” and “charismatic”, the story indirectly stereotyped all other Chinese politicians who were “far from western style” as dull and boring. When mentioning Bo’s father in the background, the story portrayed him with the dramatic word “hero”, making his

¹⁷ Also used in “Top chief says Bo Xilai scandal ‘damaged’ China’s image”, and “Gu Kailai charged with Heywood murder”

¹⁸ Also used in “Gu Kailai charged with Heywood murder”, “Does Chongqing miss former ‘emperor’ Bo Xilai?”, “China scandal: Is Bo Xilai victim of political dispute?”, “China parliament expels disgraced politician”, “Gu Kailai charged with Heywood murder”, and “Bo Xilai’s life in the fast lane”.

¹⁹ Also used in “Son defends China’s Bo Xilai as ‘devoted and upright’”.

unusual family background salient.

“China scandal: Is Bo Xilai victim of political dispute?” used the key word of “victim” in the headline to portray Bo as an innocent man. In the lead, the story cast doubt over Bo’s case by accusing China’s government of distorting the facts. Then in the section on background, the story adopted the key words “charismatic” and “popular” to describe Bo. The two adjectives described Bo as a stereotype of a charming politician, highlighting the innocent image of Bo. In the closing section, the story used the key word of “monopoly” when describing the party’s handling of Bo’s case. With this word, the story framed Bo as a victim of a political persecution more explicitly. The stock phrase of “back-stabbing” in the closing section made Bo’s image as a victim salient.

In addition to framing the case as a political persecution, the story also applied rhetorical structure to framing elite ideology. To present China’s elite ideology with regard to this case, the story extracted news reports and comments from the state media. When citing from these state media, the story used the stock phrases of “party’s version” and “party-controlled” to set up a stereotype of China’s elite ideology as being dominated by the Communist Party.

“China state media curt on Bo sacking, social media divided” highlighted China’s elite ideology by citing the key word of “comrade”, which is used to address other communist party members.

“Bo Xilai’s life in the fast lane” adopted the metaphorical phrase of “fast lane” in the headline, highlighting the “ambitious” character of Bo from the start. In other parts of the news report, the writer inserted two titles: “digging dirt” and “Sinister

experience”. The former referred to the Chinese government’s long-time efforts to collect information against Bo, making the Chinese government’s secretive image salient. As for the latter, it referred to the journalist’s own experience of being surveilled in Chongqing, highlighting the negative image of Bo. Moreover, the sentence of “the party leaders might be happy to dig some dirt on him” sent out a taste of conspiracy theory as it suggested that the high-ranking leaders had been searching for evidence to take down Bo. Apart from the titles, the author also adopted dramatic words throughout the episodes. The dramatic word of “murkier” which was adopted to describe Chongqing, and the stock phrase of “mafia group” highlighted the security issue of Chongqing, portraying Chongqing as a city filled with unrest and danger. Comparing Bo’s work in Chongqing to a “final straw for the leadership in Beijing” in the closing section, the writer highlighted the salience of Bo’s desperate situation. In the closing section, the writer put the descriptive words of “elegant” and “ambitious” directly in front of “Mr. Bo”, leaving a dramatic image of Bo for readers.

4.5.BBC Chinese’s news coverage

In terms of framing news stories, a rhetorical structure is widely applied to news coverage of BBC Chinese. Specifically, the framing device of dramatic wording appears frequently in both action stories and statement-opinion stories. Conspiracy theory is the most prominent hypothesis suggested by BBC Chinese through this dramatic wording.

For the news stories of BBC Chinese, the majority of dramatic words served the goal

of portraying Bo as a victim of a political persecution. Frequently used words include “purge”(zhengsu)²⁰, “faction”(paixi), “power struggle”(quanli douzheng), and “scapegoat”(tizuiyang). These words portrayed Bo as a weak victim of a political persecution.

“Japanese media: CCP decides to expel Bo Xilai from the Party”²¹ picked the key word of “faction” from the original news story and applied it to this story 5 times, making the image of a split ruling party salient. Moreover, the story borrowed the key word of “power struggle”²² to highlight this split image. In addition, BBC Chinese adopted the dramatic word of “a treasured sword” (*baojian*) which was used as a metaphor of the relationship between Bo’s father and Deng Xiaoping, China’s former leader. The metaphor dramatized the relationship between Chinese leaders by comparing it to a weapon. These dramatic words together constructed a conspiracy theory that linked Bo’s punishment to a political plot.

“Hong Kong media: light sentence of Wang Lijun, Bo Xilai awaits trial”²³ cited key words of “political deal” (*zhengzhi jiaoyi*) and “political motive” (*zhengzhi dongji*)

²⁰ Also used in “British media: Bo Xilai is victim of CCP’s power struggle” (*Yingmei: Bo Xilai shi Zhonggong quandou xishengpin*), “Bo Xilai’s downfall presents gap in China’s leadership” (*Bo Xilai daotai chengxian chu Zhongguo lingdaoren liexi*), and “Gu Kailai becomes a scapegoat to protect Bo Xilai” (*Gu Kailai cheng tizuiyang yizai baohu Bo Xilai*).

²¹ *Rimei: Zhonggong jueding boduo Bo Xilai dangji*

²² Also used in “British media: CCP wants to discredit Bo Xilai” (*Yingmei: Zhonggong yaorang Bo Xilai mingyu saodi*), and “British media: Bo Xilai is victim of CCP’s power struggle” (*Yingmei: Bo Xilai shi zhonggong quandou xishengpin*).

²³ *Gangmei: Wang Lujun qingpan, Bo Xilai houshen*

to make the political ingredient of the Wang's verdict salient. The key words of "scapegoat"²⁴ and "political sacrifice" (*zhengzhi xishengpin*) defined Wang Lijun as a victim of political conspiracy²⁵.

Other than portraying Bo Xilai as a victim of political plot, some news stories of BBC Chinese rendered the secretive atmosphere of Bo's case through dramatic wording.

"Bo Xilai's downfall presents gap in China's leadership" adopted the key words of "mysterious" (*shenmi*) and "elusive" (*nanyi zhuomo*) when describing the causes of Bo's downfall. These adjectives made the implication of conspiracy salient. In addition to key words, the story also quoted a metaphorical sentence--"The party's high-end politicians still conduct a 'black-box operation' in many aspects, like the contents in the black box of the an airplane, which can only see daylight after the plane crashes."²⁶ Through an analogy between Chinese high-end politicians' political operation and the black box of an airplane, the news story highlighted the secretive

²⁴ Also used in "Gu Kailai becomes a scapegoat to protect Bo Xilai" (*Gu Kailai cheng tizuiyang yizai baohu Bo Xilai*), and "Bo Xilai's wife Gu Kaiali will be sentenced for murder soon" (*Bo Xilai qizi Gu Kailai sharen'an jijiang xuanpan*).

²⁵ Other examples include "British media: China discredited Bo Xilai with rumors" (*Yingmei: Zhongguo yong xiaodao xiaoxi mohei Bo Xilai*), "British media: Bo Xilai is victim of CCP's power struggle" (*Yingmei: Bo Xilai shi Zhonggong quandou xishengpin*), and "British media: CCP wants to discredit Bo Xilai" (*Yingmei: Zhonggong yaorang Bo Xilai mingyu saodi*).

²⁶ *Zhonggong gaoceng zhengzhi zai xuduo fangman rengshi heixing caozuo, juxiang feiji heihez de neirong yiyang, zhiyou zai feiji zhuihui shishihou cai deyi jian tianri.*

side of China's politics²⁷.

Apart from conspiracy theory, BBC Chinese also applied rhetorical structure to highlighting the communist element in Bo's incident. The dramatic word of "red terror" (*hongse kongbu*) in "British media: Bo Xilai's personal guard arrested policemen"²⁸ demonstrates this point. Similarly, "Japanese media narrated in detail: Bo Xilai's rise"²⁹ selected the stock phrase of the "Red party" (*hongse de dang*) to refer to China's ruling party³⁰. At the same time, this news story also applied rhetorical structure to making the feudalist factor in this case salient, which is actually contradictory to communism. In the body of the article, the story selected the stock phrase of "become emperor" (*chengwei huangdi*)³¹, adding a feudalist dimension to Bo. In the closing part, the story adopted the key word of "princeling" (*taizidang*)³², implying existence of feudalist ingredients in China's leadership within the party. Plus, the story quoted a sentence from its information source that "I will be an emperor, so I have to build the highest ornamental column, and you have to go

²⁷ Another example is "Xinhua Agency: Bo Xilai expelled from post in central government and received investigation"(*Xinhuashe: Bo Xilai beiting zhongyang zhiwu jieshou diaocha*).

²⁸ *Yingmei: Bo Xilai siren weidui daibu jingcha*

²⁹ *Rimei xiangshu: Bo Xilai de jueqi daolu*

³⁰ Another example is "Disassociate Chongqing's achievements with those of Bo Xilai"(*ba Chongqing de chengji yu Bo Xilai qubie kai*).

³¹ Also used in "British media: Bo Xiali breaks China's good emperor myth"(*Yingmei: Bo Xilai dapo Zhongguo haohuangdi shenhua*).

³² Also used in "Taiwan media widely report on the investigation of Bo Xilai couple"(*Taimeiti guangfan baodao Bo Xilai fufu bei diaocha*).

down on your knees now.”³³ The sentence further highlighted Bo’s feudalist thought, dramatizing his ambitious side. Feudalist elements are also indicated in some other cases³⁴.

Besides dramatic wording, literary quotation is also an important framing device adopted by BBC Chinese. A typical example is the news coverage entitled “British media: CCP wants to discredit Bo Xilai”³⁵. The heading of the second section, “robbing the rich and giving to the poor Robin Hood”³⁶, borrowed the literary allusion of a character from an English folklore. Robin Hood is a reference to a righteous hero who cannot stand inequality between the rich and the poor. Referring to Bo Xilai as “Robin Hood”, the story tied a tag of “justice” to him, highlighting his egalitarianism policy in a positive way. At the same time, the force that published “Robin Hood” was implied to be villainous.

As well as rhetorical structure, the framing device of thematic structure is also a crucial framing device adopted by BBC Chinese. Thematic structure in these news stories was put into practice in the forms of quotation and observation.

BBC Chinese framed the elite ideology of China in the form of quotation of thematic

³³ “wo jinglai hui chengwei tianzi, suoyi yao jian zuigao de huabiao, nimen xianzaiqi jiuyao quxi”.

³⁴ Other examples include: “British media: Bo Xiali breaks China’s good emperor myth”(Yingmei: Bo Xilai dapo Zhongguo haohuangdi shenhua), and “Taiwan media widely report on the investigation of Bo Xilai couple”(Taimeiti guangfan baodao Bo Xilai fufu bei diaocha).

³⁵ Yingmei: Zhonggong yao rang Bo Xilai mingyu saodi

³⁶ jiefu jipin de Luobinhan

structure. Quotations on this point were mainly derived from Xinhua, and in some cases from Chinese officials or party organs.

“Bo Xilai expelled from the Party and his post”³⁷ quoted from Xinhua in its closing part, saying that “Bo Xilai’s action caused serious results, ultimately damaging reputation of the Party and country, casting an extremely bad influence in China and abroad, costing heavy losses to the Party and people’s causes.”³⁸ The comment indicated the Party’s integrity by making it salient that Bo Xilai was an exception in the Party. The quotation segregated Bo from the Party, from the Chinese people and the entire country, portraying Bo as “they”, the evil side, while the rest including the Party, Chinese people and the nation were referred to as “we”, the victim of the “evil”. In adopting this stance, BBC Chinese framed the official Chinese attitude towards Bo’s case³⁹.

“Disassociate Chongqing’s achievements from those of Bo Xilai”⁴⁰ quoted from the newly appointed Secretary of Chongqing Municipal Committee, Zhang Dejiang,

³⁷ *Bo Xilai bei kaichu dangji he gongzhi*

³⁸ *Bo Xilai de xingwei zaocheng le yanzhong houguo, jida sunhaile dang he guojia shengyu, zai guoneiwai chanshengle feichang elie de yingxiang, gei dang he renmin de shiye zaochengle zhongda sunshi.*

³⁹ Other examples include “Xinhua Agency: Bo Xilai expelled from post in central government and received investigation” (*Xinhuashe: Bo Xilai beiting zhongyang zhiwu jieshou diaocha*), “He Guoqiang: Bo Xilai’s case illustrates a new achievement of anticorruption” (*He Guoqiang: Bo Xilai an xianshi fanfu xinchengxiao*), “Xinhua Agency warns communists with Bo Xilai incident” (*Xinhuashe jiu Bo Xilai shijian jinggao dangyuan*), and “The People’s Daily: Advocate Central Government’s investigation of Bo Xilai” (*Renmin ribao: yonghu zhongyang diaocha Bo Xilai*).

⁴⁰ *ba Chongqing de chengji yu Bo Xilai qubiekai*

requesting people to “strictly separate the achievements of Chongqing in the latest five years and the efforts of many cadres and the masses from the Wang Lijun incident, Neil Heywood’s murder and Comrade Bo Xilai’s serious disciplinary violation”⁴¹. The quotation shows the Chinese government’s struggle to categorize Bo as an exception of the party so as to enhance the Party’s image⁴².

“Bo Xilai expelled from the Party, removed from his post and transferred to judicial authority”⁴³ demonstrates the gap between the elite ideology and dominant ideology on Bo’s case. Citing the phrases of “serious violation of discipline within the Party”⁴⁴, “serious mistakes”(yanzhong cuowu) and “serious consequences”(yanzhong houguo), BBC Chinese illustrated China’s state-media’s attitude toward Bo. Moreover, dramatic words such as “weighty responsibility”(zhongda zeren), “very bad influence”(feichang elie de yingxiang) and “heavy loss”(zhongda sunshi) made Beijing’s harsh attitude salient. In addition to citing from Xinhua’s news report, BBC Chinese observed reactions towards the punishment on Bo through quotations from Weibo. This story quoted three Chinese netizens, representing three standpoints on this matter: sympathetic toward Bo; neutral; support for punishing Bo. The three quotations were filled with dramatic words. The first which quoted a netizen who

⁴¹ *yao ba Chongqing jinwunian qude de chengji he guangda ganbu qunzhong fuchu de jianxin nuli yu Wang Lijun shijian, Ni'er wude siwang anjian he Bo Xilai tongzhi yanzhong weiji wenti yan'ge qubie kailai.*

⁴² Another example is “He Guoqiang: Bo Xilai’s case illustrates a new achievement of anticorruption” (*He Guoqiang: Bo Xilai an xianshi fanfu xinchengxiao*).

⁴³ *Bo Xilai bei shuangkai bing yjiao sifa jiguan*

⁴⁴ *yanzhong weifan dangde jilv*

held a sympathetic view towards Bo used the dramatic words of “merciless and malicious trader”(xinhen shoula de caopanshou) to describe those who punished Bo. The second quoted netizen, keeping a neutral attitude, adopted the dramatic word of “condor hero”(xiaoxiong) to describe Bo. The third, representing supportive force for punishment, tied the key words of “cultural revolution”(wen’ge) to Bo, making his crime salient. Plus, this netizen played a word game, as Bo was famous for his “dahei”(cracking down on mafia) campaign in Chongqing, this netizen reversed the two characters, “hei” and “da”, called Bo “heida” leader, which means cracking down in an illegal way⁴⁵.

BBC Chinese also used thematic structure to frame Bo Xilai in the image of a ruthless dictator. For example, “British media: Bo Xilai’s personal guard arrested policemen”⁴⁶ selected five examples to illustrate Bo’s dictatorship in Chongqing. This story cited from the original story the fact that Bo had a personal guard team which obeyed Bo’s orders exclusively, making the dark secretive atmosphere in Chongqing salient. The guard team arrested 11 policemen who were close to Wang Lijun. This piece of information highlighted cruel political cleansing in Chongqing.

⁴⁵ Other examples include “Ai Weiwei accuses authority about how they handle Bo Xilai”(Ai Weiwei zhize dangju chuli Bo Xilai fangshi), “Information resource: accusation of Bo Xilai absurd”(xiaoxi renshi: dui Bo Xilai zhikong huangmiu), “BBC forum netizens discuss Bo Xilai with different attitudes”(BBC luntan wangyou yilun Bo Xilai baobian buyi), “BBC netizens discuss the removal of Bo Xilai from his post”(BBC wangyou reyi Bo Xilai bei mianzhi), “Chinese netizens discuss removing Bo from his Political Bureau post”(Zhongguo wangmin reyi Bo Xilai tignren zhengzhiju weiyuan), and “Bo Xilai’s end proves the Cultural Revolution pattern is a dead end”(Bo Xilai xiachang zheng wenge moshi shi silu).

⁴⁶ Yingmei: Bo Xilai siren weidui daibu jingcha

In the closing part, the story used the example that Bo set up a special reporting group to serve his own propaganda purpose. The stories set up a stereotype of a ruthless and arrogant dictator.

“Victim of Bo Xilai’s gang crackdown claims confesses under torture”⁴⁷ framed the thematic structure in the form of quotation. This news story quoted from two interviewees. Li Jun, one of the interviewees, is a businessman who was captured by the police of the Chongqing authority and then escaped overseas. Li Zhuang, the other interviewee, is a lawyer who was put into prison because he defended a gangster. In the first section, this news story quoted Li Jun, “in order to force me to confess, they tortured me over 40 hours. I was not allowed to eat food or go to toilet. If I disagreed, they would poke me with pens.”⁴⁸ The quotation made the cruel application of the Chongqing authority’s laws salient. Also describing the ruthless interrogation by the Chongqing authority, the story quoted, “they slapped me, kicked me, and hit me with an ashtray”⁴⁹, highlighting the ruthless image of the Chongqing authority. At the end of the first section, the news story cited from Li Jun that “Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun have been carrying out evil deeds all the time”⁵⁰, linking the evil deeds clearly to Bo. In the second section, the news coverage quoted Li Zhuang that “he used to be tied to the torture-rack, being forbidden to sleep and his food was

⁴⁷ *Bo Xilai dahei shouhaizhe cheng shou kaoda zhaogong*

⁴⁸ “*tamen weile poshi wo zhaogong, jiangwo yanxing bigong le chaoguo 40 xiaoshi. wo buneng jinshi he ruce, ruguo wo butongyi, tamen bianyi bihanzi ciwo*”.

⁴⁹ “*tamen dawo bazhang tiwo, bing yong yanhuigang dawo*”.

⁵⁰ “*Bo Xilai he Wang Lijun yizhi zuo’e*”

limited. Some people sat (in the torture-rack) longer”⁵¹ and “his wife was also tortured by the rack”⁵², supporting Li Jun’s accusation of Chongqing authority’s inhuman conduct. In the closure, the news story cited from Li Zhuang that “Bo Xilai’s crackdown on the mafia in Chongqing cast serious destruction and influence on China’s legal system because they sacrificed the law to the conduct of cruel processes.”⁵³ The claim spread Bo’s influence to nationwide level, making Bo’s negative side salient⁵⁴.

4.6.FT UK’s news coverage

Conspiracy theory is a crucial theme of the FT UK’s news reports on Bo’s case. On this point, the FT UK invoked both thematic structure and rhetorical structure. Frequently used words include “purge”⁵⁵, “drama”, and “scripted”.

“Wang case dashes hopes of legal reform” referred to Wang’s and Gu’s trials as

⁵¹ *ta cengbei bangshang laohudeng santian sanye, burang shuijiao ji xianzhi yinshi. youxie ren geng zuoshang gengchang shijian.*

⁵² *tade qizi ye ceng jingli laohudeng kuxing.*

⁵³ *Bo Xilai zai Chongqing de dahei yundong dui zhongguo de falv zhidu zaocheng juda daji he yingxiang, tamen xisheng falv lai shishi canku de chengxu.*

⁵⁴ Other examples include “British media: Bo Xilai had affairs with one hundred women”(*Yingmei: Bo Xilai yu yibaige nvren youran*), and “Japanese media narrated in detail: Bo Xilai’s rise”(*Rimei xiangshu: Bo Xilai de jueqi daolu*).

⁵⁵ Used in “Bo “political drama”, “Bo charges highlight party’s challenge”, “Bo awaits fate after wife’s indictment”, “China’s ‘princeling’ generals hit by Bo purge”, “China to give UK access to Gu Kailai trial”, “Ai Weiwei comes to defence of Bo Xilai”, “Chongqing in limbo after Bo Xilai downfall”, and “Gu trial raises ghost of ‘Gang of Four’”.

“tightly scripted trials”⁵⁶, highlighting the sense of conspiracy in this trial. Similarly, Gu’s trial was referred to as a “drama”⁵⁷ in “City of justice gets ready for Gu’s trial”. “Beijing on edge amid coup rumours” used the stock phrase of “gripping political saga” to describe Bo’s downfall.

Besides dramatizing Bo’s case, the FT UK also framed the secretive atmosphere around the Chinese central government through the framing device of rhetorical structure. The most widely adopted stock phrase is “behind the curtain”⁵⁸.

When it comes to portraying the protagonists’ personalities, the FT UK applied the dramatic wording of rhetorical structure to its news coverage. “Charismatic” was used to describe Bo in “Bo’s downfall triggers Chinese outpouring”. The key word of “flamboyant”⁵⁹ appeared in “Bo charges highlight party’s challenge” to describe Bo. Gu was describe as “high-flying”, “witty”and “charming”in “High-flying lawyer to face court herself”. At the same time, this news story adopted the dramatic words of “erratic”and “imperious” to portray Gu.

Contrary to the positive, charming image, some news stories framed Bo as a negative character who was greedy for power. For example, “Bo Xilai: power, death and

⁵⁶ Also used in “Bo central to scripted political drama”.

⁵⁷ Also used in “Chinese censors hamstrung by US site”, “Bo central to scripted political drama”, “Trial of Chinese police chief ends”, “Chinese take to web to debate Bo’s downfall”, and “Chongqing in limbo after Bo Xilai downfall”.

⁵⁸ Used in “Beijing on edge amid coup rumours”, and “Bo Xilai tangled in a web of own making”.

⁵⁹ Also used in “Ai Weiwei comes to defence of Bo Xilai”.

politics” adopted the dramatic word “king” to describe Bo’s rule in Chongqing. This word not only stressed Bo’s autocratic rule in Chongqing, but also added a feudalistic impression. Afterwards, the news story used strong words such as “dictator”, and even “Hitler-like” to portray Bo, making his negative ruler image salient. “Bo purged by Chinese leadership” applied the dramatic phrases of “power-hungry ‘careerist’” and “demagogue” to frame an ambitious image of Bo.

When mentioning Bo’s family background, the FT UK paid attention to two points. One is Bo’s inherited family style, while the other is the communist element in his family. In order to highlight these two points, the FT UK applied the framing device of rhetorical structure. For instance, “Bo Xilai tangled in a web of own making” referred to Bo as the “privileged⁶⁰ ‘princeling’⁶¹ son of a revolutionary⁶² hero⁶³”, making Bo’s special family background salient. These dramatic words also highlighted the feudalist element in China’s politics. “Bo Xilai: power, death and politics” named Bo as a “red⁶⁴ aristocrat”, making Bo’s revolutionary family

⁶⁰ Also used in “China’s show trial puts Beijing to test”, and “Bo Xilai: power, death and politics”.

⁶¹ Also used in “Bo purged by Chinese leadership”, “China’s ‘princeling’ generals hit by Bo purge”, “China jails Wang Lijun for 15 years”, and “Trial of Chinese police chief ends”.

⁶² Also used in “Bo’s downfall sheds light on nepotism”, “Bo purged by Chinese leadership”, and “Gu verdict provokes online uproar”.

⁶³ Also used in “Bo awaits fate after wife’s indictment”, and “Bo purged by Chinese leadership”.

⁶⁴ Also used in “Bo purged by Chinese leadership”.

background salient. Plus, the word “elite”⁶⁵ is also a frequently used word when it comes to Bo’s or Gu’s family background. For instance, “Gu Kailai jailed for Briton’s murder” used the stock phrase “elite pedigree” when mentioning Gu’s family background.

In addition to dramatic wording, literary allusion is a prominent framing device of rhetorical structure as well. “City of justice gets ready for Gu’s trial” refers to Hefei, the city where Gu Kailai’s trial was to be held, as a “city of justice” because it is the hometown of a famous judge in the Song Dynasty, Bao Zheng, who is a symbol of justice in China as he was famous for his “defending ordinary people’s rights against corrupt officials”. By using this literary quotation, the FT UK made the Gu’s trial sensational. “Gu trial raises ghost of ‘Gang of Four’” compares Bo and his men to the Gang of Four, Mao Zedong’s wife Jiang Qing and three other party members, who were found guilty of persecuting hundreds of thousands during the Cultural Revolution. The use of this literary allusion makes two points salient: 1), Bo carried out a series of populist policies including singing revolutionary songs, which reminded people of the Cultural Revolution; 2), Bo’s wife interfered with politics excessively, which is similar to Mao’s wife. The literary quotation dramatized Gu’s trial as it touched the historical trauma of China⁶⁶. “Bo awaits fate after wife’s indictment” compared Bo’s case to Zhao Ziyang’s case. Zhao Ziyang, an earlier

⁶⁵ Used in “Bo’s brother quits China Everbright board”.

⁶⁶ Other examples include “Bo central to scripted political drama”, and “Bo purged by Chinese leadership”.

premier, was removed from his post within the party and put under house arrest until his death in 2005 after he argued for “more lenient treatment of the Tiananmen student protesters in 1989”. The news story used the literary allusion here as both Bo and Zhao were high ranking officials when they were removed from their posts. The literary allusion dramatized the removing of Bo as the case was linked to one of the best-known periods of political turbulence after the Cultural Revolution⁶⁷.

More often, the FT UK adopted the framing device of thematic structure to support its hypotheses.

Viewing China’s judicial system through the trials of Gu and Wang is a prominent theme for the FT UK. More specifically, the FT UK held a hypothesis that the trials demonstrate the opacity of China’s judicial system, which contradicted the Chinese government’s efforts to show a transparent judicial system. To support this hypothesis, the FT UK mainly relied on the framing device of thematic structure, integrating rhetorical structure to achieve the goal of dramatization.

“China’s show trial puts Beijing to test” framed its thematic structure in the form of observation. The news story provided evidence for its hypothesis that “Ms Gu, who reportedly confessed to the crime, was denied the use of her family’s chosen lawyer and made to accept an advocate designated by the party”, highlighting the violation

⁶⁷ Literary allusion of Zhao Ziyang also used in “Bo Xilai tangled in a web of own making”.

of standard trial process in this case. Furthermore, the news story stated that “Ms. Gu’s fate appears to have been sealed even before the court opened its doors”, making conspiracy theory salient. Then, the news story concluded that “the trial highlights the continued failings of China’s judicial system.” Furthermore, this story adopted the stock phrase of “losing battle” in its closing part to describe China’s legal reform, sticking a negative label on China’s judicial system.

“Wang case dashes hopes of legal reform” framed its thematic structure through quotations. The news story quoted a prominent Chinese lawyer who said that “Lots of inside information from the case was not made public and everything was politicalized. You could say these were ‘open trials with Chinese characteristics’. [These trials] reveal the truth about Chinese justice; they cannot convince the masses.” Plus, the news story cited from another lawyer that “Initially, I was quite optimistic that these cases could propel the country in a new and positive direction, but I have been very disappointed by [Gu and Wang’s] trials.” In the closing part, the story quoted a Chinese legal activist: “I would call these trials a cover-up of the truth, rather than trials based on the facts.” These quotations discredited the trials of Gu and Wang, highlighting the politicalization of the Chinese legal system⁶⁸.

Divergence between Chinese elite ideology and dominant ideology is another prominent hypothesis framed by the FT UK through thematic structure.

⁶⁸ Other examples include “Gu Kailai verdict set for Monday”, “Gu Kailai jailed for Briton’s murder”, and “City of justice readies for Gu’s trial”.

Some news stories pointed out the divergence between Chinese elite ideology and the dominant ideology directly, followed by evidence to prove the point. For example, “Gu verdict provokes online uproar” cited from a senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations that “The public reaction [to the verdict] illustrates how much harder it is for the Communist party to frame events in the same top-down way it used to”, framing the divergence for a start. Afterwards, the news story quoted some netizens’ criticism of Gu’s trial, making the divergence between the two types of ideologies salient⁶⁹.

Some news stories, on the other hand, framed the divergence through quotations of criticism on Bo’s downfall or the trials of Gu and Wang. “Bo’s downfall triggers Chinese outpouring” quoted two Chinese netizens who were supportive of Bo:

“Good uncle Bo Xilai, the people will always remember you and can distinguish between good and evil, beauty and ugliness,” said one internet user with the name ‘Ordinary person, new student’. Another user called ‘Flying ocean’ said: ‘As a Dalian native, from high school through university I was always proud, but after I graduated every time I went back there I noticed a huge difference!!!! With its frequent fire disasters, dirty streets and rookie drivers, what has Dalian come to? Compared to Bo Xilai, all the [government officials] who came after him have been far worse.’”

By providing dominant ideology which was opposite to central government’s decision on Bo, the news story highlighted the divergence between the dominant

⁶⁹ Another examples is “City of Justice gets ready for Gu’s trial”.

ideology and elite ideology on Bo Xilai⁷⁰. “Ai Weiwei comes to defence of Bo Xilai”, however, framed the divergence through quotations of one particular celebrity.

“But his disposal itself was done in such a way that is unacceptable. Even if he is a criminal, there should still be an open process, a legal process, to handle it. But even today there is really no one who knows what has happened to Bo Xilai.”

The quotation reflected Ai’s disagreement with how the Chinese government dealt with Bo, highlighting the divergence between these two kinds of ideology. The interviewee of this news story, Ai Weiwei, represents another hypothesis: censorship. The story quoted that “I am still under very strict control...They say I am free, but I’m followed wherever I go, my phone is tapped and my friends get interrogated all the time.” The quotation provided evidence for Chinese government’s censorship on the press.

The Chinese elites’ attempt to set their ideology as the dominant ideology by smashing existing different ideologies is another important hypothesis framed by the FT UK with the framing device of thematic structure. “Bo central to scripted political drama” observed that:

“On Thursday afternoon, Sina Weibo, China’s leading Twitter equivalent which has become the single most important channel for breaking through official censorship and propaganda, temporarily broke down. Although this was described as a technical problem, censors erased critical comments about the trial very quickly.”

⁷⁰ Other examples include “Bo charges highlight party’s challenge”, and “Gu Kailai jailed for Briton’s murder”.

The observation portrayed the Chinese government's censorship on social media as being to seal up dissent⁷¹.

In addition to thematic structure, rhetorical structure also played an important role in framing the censorship of Chinese government. "Beijing on edge amid coup rumours" called Chinese media "heavily censored media", making censorship on the Chinese media salient.

4.7.Comparison between the four online portals' framing patterns

Since the FT Chinese does not produce news reports on its own, its news reports will be analyzed as targets for translation study. Hence, a comparison on framing style is conducted between BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK.

Rhetorical structure and thematic structure are frequently adopted framing devices for all of the three online portals. Moreover, the three online portals tend to use the same framing device in terms of certain themes.

Divergence between the elite ideology and the dominant ideology in China is a theme that all of the three online portals framed through thematic structure. All three online portals relied on quoting social media users, sometimes also citing from

⁷¹ Other examples include "China's show trial puts Beijing to test", "China jails Wang Lijun for 15 years", and "Bo Xilai's wife charged with murder".

dissenters' comments, to frame the dominant ideology on Bo's case. Social media, especially weibo is the most crucial information source for all three online portals on this point. As for framing the elite ideology, however, the FT UK used a different routine. The two BBC online portals presented elite ideology mainly by the means of quoting state-run media, and sometimes officials' comments, whereas the FT UK framed the elite ideology through brief generalization, in some cases citing from a third-party. The FT UK also quoted Xinhua or top officials, but not frequently. When framing divergence between Chinese elite ideology and the dominant ideology, the two English online portals utilized the framing device of thematic structure to frame the Chinese government's censorship of the media. "Bo central to scripted political drama" of the FT UK and "Netizens criticize Gu Kailai's sentence" of BBC UK are good examples. However, BBC Chinese did not frame this issue.

All three online portals framed a conspiracy theory that blamed Bo's downfall to political struggle within the communist party. The framing device of rhetorical structure was adopted by all of the three online portals. Dramatic wording played an important role especially in the framing process of BBC Chinese and the FT UK. However, these two online portals showed different preferences in word choice. "Power struggle", "faction" and "scapegoat" are frequently used words by BBC Chinese, while "drama" and "scripted" are words widely adopted by the FT UK. Nevertheless, the word "purge", which is linked to the communist party due to historic events in the Soviet Union, is the most widely used word by both online portals. In the meantime, BBC UK just used the stock phrase of "dig dirt" to frame the conspiracy theory.

One more thing that the three online portals have in common is that they all framed an ambitious image of Bo. The thing that is different is that the two BBC online portals used the framing device of thematic structure, while the FT UK adopted rhetorical structure. “Bo Xilai’s life in the fast lane” of BBC UK framed Bo’s ambition in the form of observation, and “Japanese media narrated in detail: Bo Xilai’s rise” of BBC Chinese adopted the form of quotation on this point. “Bo purged by Chinese leadership” of the FT UK, on the other hand, used a series of dramatic stock phrases-“power-hungry” “careerist” and “demagogue” to frame Bo’s ambition.

At the same time, all three online portals also framed a positive image of Bo. The difference is that the three online portals spent different amount of effort in portraying the charming side of Bo.

Of all the four online portals, BBC UK devoted most to portraying Bo as a charming politician. Both rhetorical structure and thematic structure were applied to the framing process. As for the rhetorical structure, dramatic wording is the main framing tool. “Charismatic”, which appeared nine times, is the most frequently adopted word for BBC UK when it described Bo. Words following in frequency of use include “flamboyant”, “elegant” and “popular” which are also used in several news stories to portray Bo. As for the thematic structure, BBC UK mainly depended on quotation. For instance, “Does Chongqing miss former ‘emperor’ Bo Xilai?” quoted several interviewees who appreciated Bo’s period of rule in Chongqing saying it proved his capability in management. BBC Chinese, however, did not pay as much attention to capturing glittering features of Bo as its English headquarters

did. Without dramatic wording to frame Bo's positive image, BBC Chinese used the rhetorical tool of literary allusion to frame Bo. The news coverage entitled "British media: CCP wants to discredit Bo Xilai" used the literary allusion of Robin Hood to refer to Bo, putting Bo onto the moral high ground. However, it is worth noticing that this news story is not an originally created piece but an extraction from another British newspaper, although it still to some extent represents the standpoint of BBC Chinese. The FT UK, like BBC Chinese, contributed little to framing Bo's charming side. The word "charismatic" only appeared once, and "flamboyant" twice. No other rhetorical devices were used. On the contrary, the FT UK showed more interest in framing Bo's dark side, specifically framing the image of a dictator. The news story entitled "Bo Xilai: power, death and politics" adopted a series of dramatic words including "king", "dictator", and even "Hitler-like" to highlight Bo's dictatorship. On the contrary to portraying Bo Xilai as a charming politician, BBC Chinese displayed more effort in framing Bo's ruthlessness. Its two news stories, "British media: Bo Xilai's personal guard arrested policemen" and "Victim of Bo Xilai's gang crackdown claims confession under torture", were dedicated to framing Bo's cruelty through thematic structure in the forms of observation and quotation. In the news stories of BBC UK, however, Bo's dark side was seldom brought up. Even in the news stories that brought up Bo's problem, the downside was always accompanied by argument for his upside or the darker deeds of others. "Does Chongqing miss former 'emperor' Bo Xilai?" mentioned Bo's iron-fist rule through a quotation. However, following this one quotation were several quotations speaking highly of Bo's achievements. Another news story entitled "Bo Xilai's life in the fast lane" observed Bo's surveillance on foreign journalists, followed by the central

government's secretive attempts to collect information from informants against Bo.

When framing Bo's personality, BBC UK is the only one online portal that linked Bo to the west. The news story entitled "Bo Xilai removed by China from Chongqing leader post" called Bo "the nearest thing China has to a Western-style politician", setting a stereotype of "western-style". As a "western-style" politician, Bo was regarded as one of "us", and the description of him was filled with words such as "charismatic", "elegant", "flamboyant", and "popular". This may also explain the lack of negative frame for BBC UK.

Despite the fact that all of the three online portals focused on the political significance of Bo's case, the FT UK valued its legal significance more than the other two online portals as it researched more deeply into the judicial significance of Wang's and Gu's trials than the other two online portals. Through the trials of both Gu and Wang, the FT UK scrutinized China's judicial system. For instance, "Wang case dashes hopes of legal reform" not only framed a negative attitude towards China's legal system through rhetorical structure, but also adopted the framing device of thematic structure to frame the opacity of China's legal system. Four other news stories framed the same theme. In contrast, the two other online portals focused more on the process and results of the trials.

Another thing that the FT UK showed more interest in than the other two online portals is Bo's family background. The FT UK brought up two points in terms of Bo's family: communism, and hereditary tradition. Ironically, these two elements are actually contradictory to each other as the nature of the former is supposed to overthrow the latter, while the latter historically tried to suppress the former.

However, the two elements of the revolutionary communist party and the feudalist hereditary system coexisted in Bo's family background. The descendants of the most prominent communist party leaders even form a special class known as "princelings". The FT UK's long news story entitled "Bo Xilai: power, death and politics" is a typical example as it not only used rhetorical structure to stress Bo's father's special identity, but also adopted thematic structure in the form of observation to provide plentiful evidence for this hypothesis. The two BBC online portals, however, did not pay close attention to Bo's family history. The word "princeling" did appear in two of BBC Chinese news stories, but both were cited from other news media .

4.8. Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals

This study analyzes the modifications carried out in the process of translation between the two BBC online portals and the two FT online portals. The result is compared with the 5 "most frequent modifications to which the source text can typically be subjected in the process of translation" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 64). The 5 most used modifications include change of title and lead, elimination of unnecessary information, addition of important background information, change in the order of paragraphs, and summarizing information. The modifications respond to

two criteria of “news relevance” and “background knowledge of target readers”(Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 64).

BBC UK and BBC Chinese both have 4 news stories translated from the other one⁷². In the process of translation, change of title occurs frequently. In the case of the English news story entitled “Netizens debate Bo Xilai despite censorship”, the target-language text (TT) removed the sensitive word “censorship” and used the verb “debate”⁷³. When translation was conducted the other way around, BBC UK changed the source-language text (ST) to a more dramatic style. The English news story entitled “Do Chinese people miss Bo Xilai?” illustrates this point. The original Chinese title kept a neutral tone without dramatic words, while BBC UK added a dramatic word of “emperor” to the title, therefore dramatizing it⁷⁴.

Apart from adding dramatic words to titles, BBC UK also replaced names with official titles. BBC UK changed the name of Hu Jintao in the Chinese news story⁷⁵ to “China president” because the name of Hu Jintao may sound unfamiliar to many British readers, while the title of China president was easier to understand⁷⁶.

Elimination of unnecessary information is another modification. When translating English news from BBC UK, BBC Chinese often removed the background

⁷² See Appendix II

⁷³ *Zhongguo wangmin reyi Bo Xilai tingren zhengzhiju weiyuan*

⁷⁴ *Chongqing renmin huainian bo Xilai?*

⁷⁵ *Bo Xilai beizhi qieting Hu Jintao dianhua*

⁷⁶ China president ‘was wire-tapped’

information, considering its target readers were familiar with the background knowledge of its target British readers. For example, the English news coverage entitled “The dual identities of Bo Xilai’s brother” explains Bo Xiyong’s relationship with Bo Xilai and the personal information of Bo Xilai in its fourth paragraph. Hence, western readers are able to understand why the news matters. BBC Chinese, however, removed Bo’s personal information which Chinese readers were familiar with⁷⁷.

More modifications were carried out by the FT Chinese during its translation process. Similarly to BBC, change of title is a crucial modification in the translation of the FT as the FT Chinese adopted a flatter tone style for titles.

The English title “Gu trial raises ghost of ‘Gang of Four’” used the dramatic word of “ghost” to achieve dramatic effect. Plus, the title connects Gu Kailai to Jiang Qing, the wife of Mao Zedong and the head of the ‘Gang of Four’, which was the most powerful political group during the Cultural Revolution, as they were both married to powerful politicians and they both interfered in politics. The FT Chinese removed all the dramatic elements, simply stating the fact that people pay close attention to Gu’s trial⁷⁸. Another example is the English title “China’s naked truths reveal emperor’s garb”. This title used a literary allusion of Hans Christian Anderson’s famous fairy tale, the *Emperor’s New Clothes*, to refer to the exposure of the political world. On

⁷⁷ *Bo Xilai zhangxiong de shuangchong shenfen*

⁷⁸ *Gefang guanzhu Gu Kailai an tingshen*

the contrary, the TT claims that “Bo Xilai case exposes China political truth”⁷⁹ plainly .

In addition to the modification of dramatic words in titles, replacing names with official titles or the other way around is another altering pattern, which is similar to BBC as well. When translating “Hague welcomes China probe into businessman’s death”, the FT Chinese substituted the name of Hague for “British Foreign Minister” as the name Hague could not ring a bell with Chinese readers⁸⁰. Another example is the news story entitled “Trial of Chinese police chief ends”. The FT Chinese replaced the “police chief” with “Wang Lijun” as it is a well-known name for Chinese readers⁸¹.

Apart from making titles appealing to readers, making them easy to understand is another crucial reason for making alterations to titles. For example, in the title of “Gu Kailai jailed for Briton’s murder”, the FT UK picked the word “jailed” instead of the legal jargon of “suspended death sentence” based on two reasons: 1), the suspended death penalty is an unfamiliar legal concept for western readers; 2), western readers cannot grasp the core of this verdict according to the literal meaning of the term “suspended death penalty” as the penalty is always commuted to life imprisonment in China. Hence, the actual verdict for Gu Kailai is life in prison. Therefore, the

⁷⁹ *Bo Xilai an jielu Zhongguo zhengjie zhenxiang*

⁸⁰ *Ying waixiang chengnuo shen yi Yingguoren haiwai siwang chuli chengxu*

⁸¹ *Wang Lijun tingshen jieshu*

English title gives the core meaning of Gu's verdict directly. Nevertheless, it is not essential for the Chinese version to go through the trouble because Chinese readers understand the real meaning of "suspended death penalty" fairly well. Thus, the Chinese title keeps the original legal jargon of "suspended death"⁸².

In addition to change of title, elimination of sensitive information is another frequent modification. The translation of the English news story entitled "Bo Xilai tangled in a web of own" illustrates this modification. In the closing part, the English version traced back three cases: the downfall of Shanghai Party Secretary Chen Liangyu in 2005; the removal of Beijing Party Secretary Chen Xitong in the mid-1990s; the ousting of the General Secretary of Communist Party Zhao Ziyang in the wake of the 1989 Tian'anmen Square massacre. Nevertheless, the Chinese version⁸³ only kept the example of Chen Liangyu. This study speculates the reason for the removal of the other two cases to be their links to the Tiananmen Square incident. Zhao Ziyang has been under house arrest since the Tiananmen Square incident for his sympathetic gesture towards the students. Chen Xitong was the mayor of Beijing in 1989 and his iron fist policy during the Tiananmen Square incident has been controversial. The FT Chinese⁸⁴ even eliminated half of the original news story entitled "China reform drive boosted by Bo's fall", in which the FT UK discussed China's political system.

⁸² *Gu Kailai beipan sihuan*

⁸³ *Weibo tisheng Zhongguo zhengzhi toumingdu*

⁸⁴ *Bo Xilai shijian huo tuidong Zhongguo zhengzhi gaige*

Elimination of background information is also an important modification in the process of translation. For example, in the English news coverage entitled “Bo central to scripted political drama”⁸⁵ had a brief look back at the process of Bo Xilai’s downfall. However, the Chinese version removed the background information as Chinese readers were fairly familiar with the process of the story .

The FT Chinese also summarised information when it deemed some information to be unnecessary for Chinese readers. Hence, the FT Chinese tended to reduce the parts on the British government’s reaction towards the murder of Neil Heywood because the British attitude was far removed from Chinese readers’ life. For instance, the English news story entitled “Bo Xilai’s wife arrested in murder probe” covered the UK government’s request for China to reopen the investigation into Heywood’s death and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s comment on China’s investigation in its closing part. The Chinese version⁸⁶, however, cut the original closing part to just one short sentence saying that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office welcomed the investigation.

Moreover, the order of paragraphs is also frequently modified. For instance, the TT⁸⁷ of the English news story entitled “Gu Kailai jailed for Briton’s murder” inserted the seventh paragraph of the ST to the position of third paragraph. This paragraph

⁸⁵ *gefang guanzhu Gu Kailai an tingshen*

⁸⁶ *Bo Xilai jieshou Zhongjiwei diaocha*

⁸⁷ *Gu Kailai beipan sihuan*

commented that public attention would turn to the party's way of dealing with Bo Xilai. The English report unfolded the plot in a traditional way: introduced the verdict on Gu; analyzed the significance of the verdict; linked Gu's case to the real protagonist, her husband, Bo Xilai. However, the Chinese version broke this traditional order. After introducing the verdict of Gu, the Chinese version made the link to Gu's husband immediately, then it continued analyzing Gu's verdict. After all, Gu's crime had not previously been exposed to most Chinese readers, while Bo Xilai's case concerns the purge of a very popular and important political figure that is familiar to every Chinese person. Thus, the Chinese report showed in its opening that it did not simply reported the end of Gu Kailai, but made a deeper search into what Chinese readers were keen to know.

Adding information also took place during the translation. Still taking "Gu Kailai jailed for Briton's murder" as an example, the Chinese version adds a three-paragraph-long discussion of the possibilities of how the central government would deal with Bo Xilai, which is totally original analysis of the FT Chinese. It is impossible to judge who wrote the added part as the Chinese version only named the original English reporter and the Chinese translator. In spite of the ambiguity of the author, the label of "translated news stories" protects the sensitive part of the report from causing controversy and annoying Chinese media supervisory organizations.

In summary, the translation in BBC and in the FT have some modifications in common. First, a change of titles occurred frequently and they displayed the same pattern. The English titles preferred a dramatic title whereas the Chinese title tends to pick an objective one. On this point, the FT Chinese also changed jargon or names of

people in titles. Second, both Chinese online portals eliminated background information which was regarded as what Chinese readers had knowledge of.

However, some modifications took place exclusively in the FT's translation. For a start, the FT Chinese changed paragraphing of the original news stories according to the relevance of the information to Chinese readers, while neither BBC UK nor BBC Chinese changed the order of the paragraphs in the original reports. In addition, the FT Chinese eliminated sensitive information whereas BBC Chinese did not. Furthermore, the FT Chinese added information to the original English news stories, which did not occur in the translation between the two BBC online portals.

Both BBC and the FT sometimes "betrayed" the original report when translating news stories so as to fit their target readers' requests in terms of "news relevance" and "background knowledge of target readers" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 64). In the process of the modification, the three online portals tended to fit into their target readers' ideologies rather than implant their own.

Chapter 5 Case Study II: Anti-Japan Protests

5.1. Background of the Diaoyu Islands Dispute

The Diaoyu Islands, also known as the Senkaku Islands, cover a total area of about seven sq km, and include eight uninhabited islands and rocks in the East China Sea. The islands lie east of the Mainland China, northeast of Taiwan, west of Okinawa Island, and southwest of Japan's southern-most prefecture, Okinawa. Currently, the islands are controlled by Japan. Despite being deserted and tiny, the Diaoyu Islands are “close to important shipping lanes, offer rich fishing grounds and lie near potential oil and gas reserves”. Plus, they are located in “a strategically significant position, amid rising competition between the US and China for military primacy in the Asia-Pacific region” (BBC, 2014). Besides, “the dispute about the overlapping of the demarcation of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is also an important factor that makes the Senkaku Islands so sought after” (Roy-Chaudhury, 2016). Therefore, the Diaoyu Islands have been an important issue not only to China and Japan, but also to the entire Asia-Pacific region and are also of interest to the United States. The Senkaku islands were subsequently incorporated into Japanese territory in 1895 after Japan’s victory in the First Sino-Japanese War. The islands briefly came under American occupation in 1945, when Japan surrendered at the end of WWII, but were soon returned in 1972. In the late 1960s, the Bangkok-based Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) surveyed the waters around the Senkaku and suggested potentially rich oil deposits beneath the seabed. After the release of this finding in 1971, Taiwan made its first territorial claim to the islands. Months later,

the Mainland China followed the suit (Roy-Chaudhury, 2016).

The escalation of the dispute in 2012 included several key incidents. In April 2012, Tokyo governor Shintaro Ishihara announced his intention to purchase the disputed islands from a private Japanese owner. On 7 July, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda claimed that his government was considering purchasing the islands, leading to the Chinese government's protest. This led to "angry responses and anti-Japanese protests from the Chinese who felt that their sovereignty had been violated and saw the purchase as an act of nationalizing the islands" (Roy-Chaudhury, 2016).

For most Chinese people, what the Diaoyu Islands issue touched is not several deserted islands: actually few Chinese people are clear about the crucial significance of the islands. Rather, what the dispute over the Diaoyu Islands touched is China's historic memory. For most Chinese people, the "bitterness over Japan's imperial aggressions in the 1930s and '40s is tangible today" (N.D., 2012). In fact, the fight between China and Japan for regional dominance stretches back over 1,500 years. Nevertheless, the real clashes occurred when Japan undertook modernization in the late 19th Century. Its victory in war not just with the Qing Dynasty of China in 1895, but against the Russians in 1905, "were preludes to a rampant nationalism that engulfed the whole region during World War II" (Brown, 2016).

On 14 August, activists from Hong Kong reached the disputed islands by sea, with seven activists disembarking onto the island (the *South China Morning Post*, 2016). The next day, all the activists were arrested and deported by Japanese police (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2016). Four days later, ten Japanese activists

“swam ashore and raised Japanese flags on the island chain”. On 10 September, the Japanese government declared its decision to purchase the islands. Four days later, six Chinese surveillance ships “sailed into waters around the Diaoyu Islands to assert China’s territorial claims”(the *South China Morning Post*, 2016). The next day, the biggest anti-Japan protests since China and Japan normalized diplomatic relations in 1972 erupted across China, and the massive protests lasted for two days, turning violent in some cities. On 17 September, some Japanese companies such as Toyota and Honda temporarily closed down factories and offices in China. The next day, the anniversary of Japan’s invasion of Manchuria when Japanese forces took Manchuria and embarked on their 14 years of pillage and suppression, widespread anti-Japanese demonstrations were held in over 180 cities across China (the *South China Morning Post*, 2016). On 19 September, Chinese authorities deployed riot police to suppress the protests and Japanese businesses reopened. The *Financial Times* viewed the demonstrations as “the worst in recent years” (2012). The timing of the explosion of anti-Japan sentiment, however, ignited some speculation on whether there was any connection to the ongoing once-in-a-decade leadership transition with a key Communist Party Congress expected to open as early as one month after the eruption of the anti-Japan protests. One theory even assumed that China’s leadership might have encouraged the nationalist outpouring to distract attention from continuing dissent at home, including debates over who would ultimately be named to the Politburo Standing Committee. Another speculation was that the anti-Japan sentiment served as a distraction from attention to the unsolved case of Bo Xilai. The key figure in Bo’s case, Wang Lijun, actually went on trial on 18 September, a day that widespread anti-Japan demonstrations broke out (Roberts, 2012). The *New York*

Times reported that some Chinese officials were seen participating in the protests (Johnson and Shanker, 2012). These speculations were consistent with the opinion of Mr. Tong, the interviewee of the *Economist*, that there was more to the sentimental outpourings than the past anti-Japan feeling. Chinese people's frustration at other social injustices, which had been suppressed for too long, became mixed up in this issue (N.D., 2012).

Apart from the political motivation hidden behind the anti-Japan outpourings, the sentimental protests actually expressed long-existing ill feeling towards Japan. For China, "the anger over what is seen as Japanese unwillingness to confront their history of aggression in WWII" never ceases. For Japan, where the vast majority of its people were born long after the war, the irritation toward the Chinese "stems from the ways in which their prime ministers from the early 1970s onward into the 1980s made a clear strategic decision to engage with China in its modernization process but received a poor return for it" (Brown, 2016). Hence, the mutual ill feeling has been growing for decades. The anti-Japan wave in 2012 was just an outbreak of the historic feeling which was to some extent tolerated or even directed by political players. Furthermore, due to the mutual defence treaty between the United States and Japan, Washington is obliged to aid Japan if it is attacked (Makinen, 2012). Therefore, the tension between China and Japan also raised attention from the United States.

In addition to the Asia-Pacific regional security issue, the Sino-Japanese economy is also a big concern for the global economy. The trade between the two countries was worth nearly \$350 bn in 2011. China is Japan's largest export market, and China

received about \$12 billion in foreign direct investment from Japan in 2011, according to Japanese government figures (Makinen, 2012). Although the anti-Japan wave started out of political reasons, this study put this case to the economic category based on the impact of the anti-Japan protests. The anti-Japan wave caused dramatic economic impact, while its political result was just another cold period in the relationship of the two countries, which is not new.

The anti-Japan wave of protest made Japan suffer serious economic loss (Kumagai and Hashimoto, 2012). A series of Japanese brands, including Toyota, Honda, Nissan, Panasonic, Canon, shut down their factories in China during the protests (Clement, 2012). According to the *Los Angeles Times*, “the business closing part and calls to boycott Japanese goods helped drive down the stock prices of many Japanese companies, including Nissan, which fell by 5%; Honda, which dropped by 2.5%; and Uniqlo’s parent company Fast Retailing, which plummeted 7%. Japan also suffered a heavy blow to its tourism industry. According to China’s major travel agencies, many tourists cancelled trips to Japan following the protests (CNN, 2012). Although Japan suffered a heavier blow to its economy, China could not escape from the fallout of the unrest. Data showed that “the shares of some Chinese companies with close ties to Japanese firms also fell” (Makinen, 2012). The Sino-Japan relationship carries economic significance as both countries benefit from the corporation pattern of Japan companies providing core techniques and China providing labour. Taking Sony as an example, data shows that 95% of Sony’s products are made in China. If Chinese people boycott Sony’s products, Sony will shrink its scale of production plants in China and starts to fire workers. China will suffer an increase in its unemployment rate, which will cause a further instability in Chinese society (Jia,

2012). Considering the crucial economic significance of the anti-Japan wave in 2012, this study analyzed the case as an economic news event.

5.2.Content Analysis of the News Stories on the Anti-Japan Protests in China

With the behaviourist approach of content analysis, this study conducted quantitative measurement of the four online portals' performance in terms of the anti-Japan demonstrations of 2012 in China.

Similar to the analysis of Bo Xilai's case, this study targets at the news reports and commentaries of the four online portals as these two genres occupied the majority of the news texts of the four online portals.

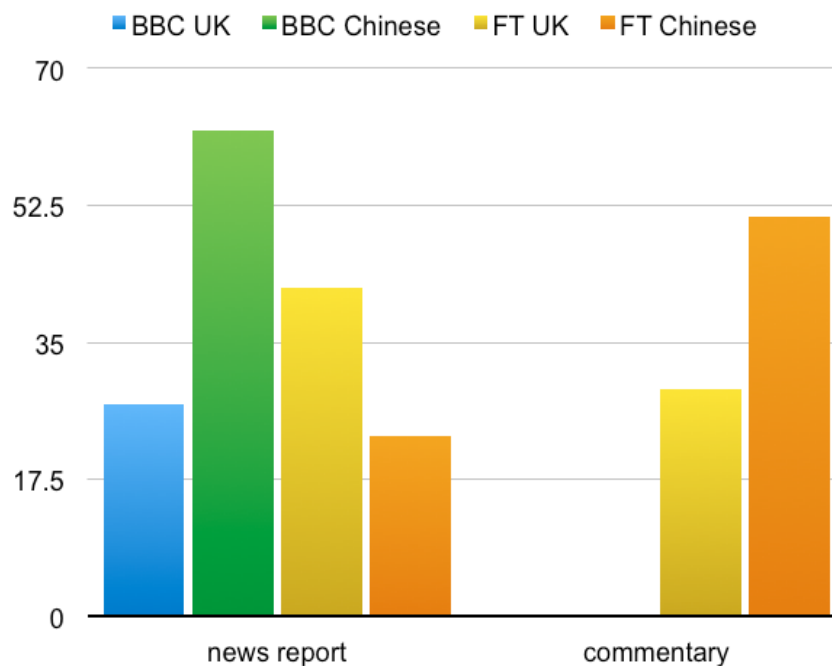


Figure 5.1 The numbers of news reports and commentaries on anti-Japan demonstrations

The chart shows that BBC Chinese outnumbered the other three online portals in the number of news reports. BBC Chinese produced 62 news reports on the anti-Japan demonstrations while the FT UK produced 42, BBC UK produced 27, and the FT Chinese 23 a little more than one third of BBC Chinese's news reports. The data of the commentaries illustrates a drastic difference between the styles of the FT and BBC. As in Bo Xilai's case, the FT Chinese outnumbered the others. The FT Chinese produced 51 commentaries, more than doubling its news reports, while the FT UK produced only 29 commentaries. In stark contrast, the two BBC online portals did not produce a single commentary on this news event, highlighting its concentration on news reporting and the FT's strength in analysis and commentaries. Although this result is more drastic than that of Bo's case, the patterns reflected through the two groups were consistent as both indicated that BBC placed its emphasis on presenting events, while the FT, especially its Chinese branch, was highly committed to analysis.

As for the total number of news reports and commentaries on this news event, the two FT online portals outnumbered the other two. Both the FT UK and the FT Chinese produced 76 news reports and commentaries, while BBC Chinese produced 62, and BBC UK produced 27. According to the quantity of the texts, BBC UK showed least interest in the anti-Japan demonstrations.

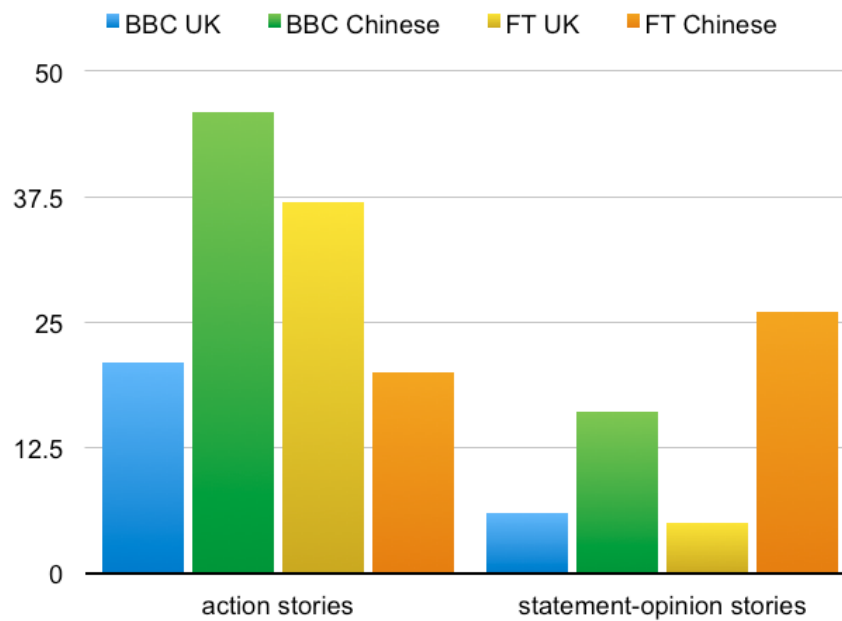


Figure 5.2 The numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on anti-Japanese demonstrations

With regard to the two genres of news reports, the FT Chinese acted differently from the other three online portals. Opinions on the anti-Japan demonstrations from external sources played an auxiliary role for the two BBC online portals and the FT UK as they produced more actions stories than statement-opinion stories. The FT Chinese, on the contrary, is more committed to presenting ideologies of the event. The FT Chinese produced 26 statement-opinion stories, followed by BBC Chinese with 16, BBC UK with six, and the FT UK with five. The highest number is more than five times of the lowest one. In regard of action stories, BBC Chinese surpassed the other three. BBC Chinese produced 46 action stories, followed by the FT UK's 39, BBC UK's 21, and the FT Chinese's 20, fewer than half of the highest number.

As for the content of the news reports, this study divides the topics of all the news reports on the anti-Japan demonstrations into seven categories according to the

themes of the news stories: demonstration, politics, economy, international, media, law and society. The issue of demonstration refers to the news coverage of the process of the demonstrations. The issue of politics refers to the news reports on political influence on the demonstrations, including politicians' reactions to the incident. Similarly, the issue of economy refers to the news stories covering the economic influence the demonstrations. The issues of international and media refer to the news stories covering the international and media reactions to the demonstrations respectively. The issue of law refers to the topics on legal measurements to deal with the demonstrations. The issue of society refers to the social reaction, including Japan's, to the protests in China.

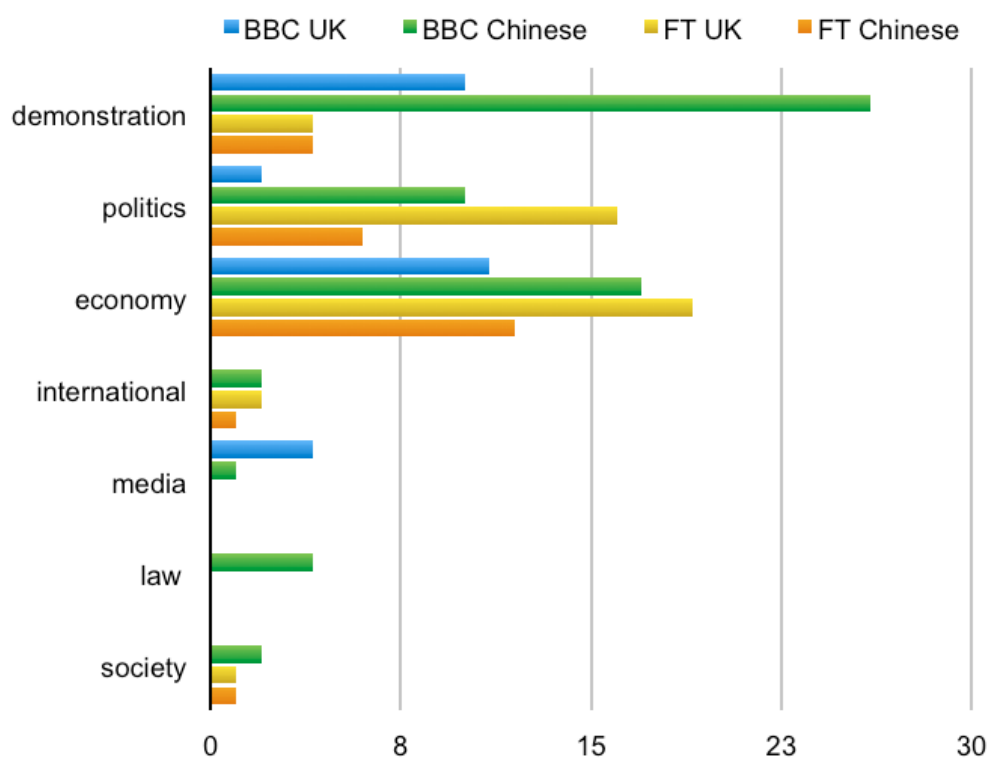


Figure 5.3 Issues under anti-Japan demonstrations

The graph illustrates that all of the four online portals paid close attention to the

economic impact of the anti-Japanese demonstrations. Apart from BBC Chinese, the economy was the most concerned issue for the other three online portals. As for BBC Chinese, economy was its second most concerned issue. Of these four online portals, the FT UK contributed the highest number of news reports (19) on the issue of economy, which fit into the nature of its financial news media. Following the FT UK is BBC Chinese which produced 17 news reports, then comes the FT Chinese with 12 news reports and BBC with 11. BBC Chinese, at the same time, regarded the details of the demonstrations as the most important issue. On this issue, BBC Chinese contributed 26 news stories, almost tripling the second highest (BBC UK with ten). The two FT online portals just produced four news stories, less than one-sixth of the highest number.

As for the least concerned issue, the four online portals did not perform as consistently as in Bo Xilai's case. Neither the two FT online portals nor BBC UK produced any news report on the legal measurements taken in terms of the violent protests. Hence, the issue of law was the least concerned issue for these three online portals. BBC Chinese, however, produced four news reports on this issue. Plus, BBC UK did not cover the issue of society either, while the other three did cover this issue. However, the other three online portals also did not pay much attention to this issue. Both of the two FT online portals produced just one news story on this issue, and BBC Chinese only produced two news stories. The least concerned issue for BBC Chinese was media, which was in stark contrast with the FT Chinese. Nevertheless, BBC Chinese covered all of the seven issues, making it the online portal which covered the demonstrations from the most different angles of the four.

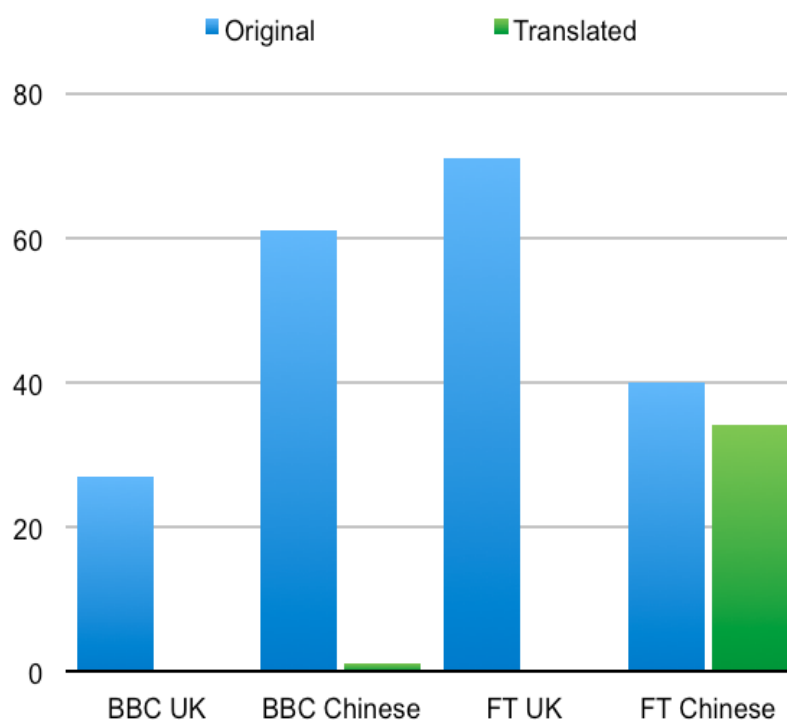


Figure 5.4 Quantitative comparisons between original and translated texts

The graph illustrates a pattern consistent with that of Bo Xilai's case. The FT UK did not translate any works from its Chinese branch, while all of the FT Chinese news reports were translated from its British headquarters, the reason behind which was explained in Bo Xilai's case. Nevertheless, the majority of its commentaries were original works. All of the FT Chinese original works were commentaries, which means that 40 out of 50 its commentaries were original works from the FT Chinese. Since the number of the FT Chinese's commentaries far surpassed its news reports, in this instance the original works of the FT Chinese outnumbered its translated works. As in Bo Xilai's case, the two BBC online portals kept highly independent of each other. Among the 62 news reports of BBC Chinese, just one was translated from English. Meanwhile all of BBC UK's news reports were exclusively original works of BBC UK.

5.3. Framing Analysis of the News Stories on the Anti-Japan Protests

The frames of the four online portals' news reports are divided into two categories: episodic frame and thematic frame. In the case of anti-Japan demonstration, episodic frames covers each protest among the anti-Japan wave and reactions to the protests from various sides. Unlike the news stories of Bo Xilai's case, many of which devoted considerable space to reviewing the whole story of Bo and his family, anti-Japanese demonstrations did not have a heavily guarded secretive background to dig into. Rather than excavate the antecedents of Bo's downfall, as they did in the Bo Xilai case, the four online portals transferred their attention to the aftermath of this anti-Japan wave. As these news stories did not portray events, this study categorizes them as thematic frames.

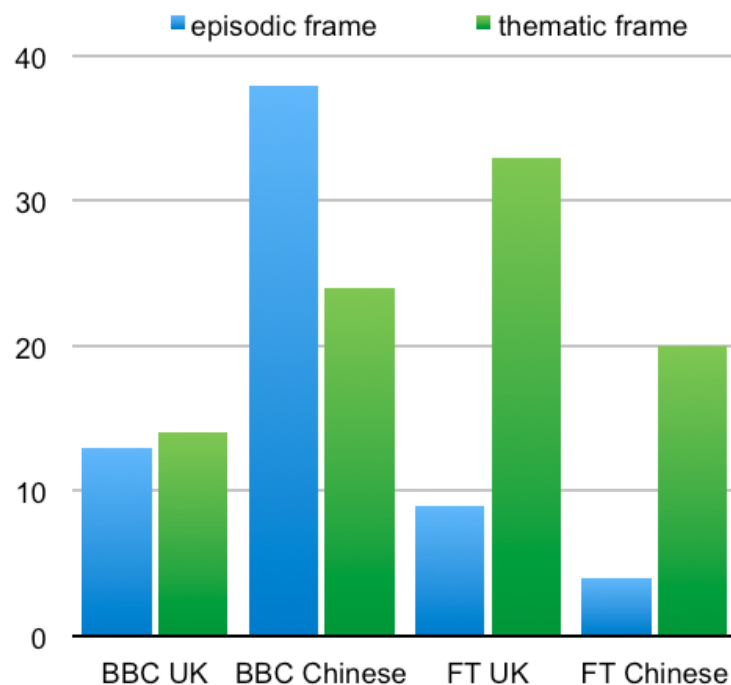


Figure 5.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals

The graph illustrates that only BBC UK kept a balance between episodic frames and thematic frames. BBC UK's news reports with thematic frame (14) outnumber those with episodic structure (13) by one. The gap between the two frames in the other three online portals, on the other hand, is wide. The FT Chinese has 20 news stories with thematic frame, which is five times the total with episodic frame (four). The FT UK, whose gap between the two frames is a bit narrower, produced 33 thematic frames, while the number of its episodic frames barely reaches nine, a bit higher than one quarter of the former. As for BBC Chinese, whose proportion of use of the two frames is reversed, is more balanced between the two frames than the two FT online portals. Still, its news stories with episodic frames (38) outnumber those with thematic structure (24) by 14.

Due to the different nature of episodic frame and thematic frame, stories with episodic frame tend to be published earlier than those with thematic structure. Similar to Bo Xilai's case, the higher numbers of episodic frames indicate the fast news response speed of the two BBC online portals, especially BBC Chinese in this case. Still, it is impossible to examine the news response speed of the FT Chinese because of its nature. As a result of the Chinese regulation that foreigners are not permitted to operate media publishing in China to Chinese, the FT Chinese registered itself as an advertising company⁸⁸. Hence, the FT Chinese cannot report news event. Meanwhile, the high numbers of thematic frames of the two FT online portals reflect

⁸⁸ See Chapter 2.

its strength in exploring significance behind news events.

When analyzing framing of these four online portals, this study examines the rhetorical structure and the thematic structure of their news stories. Analyzing samples of this case were selected based on four variables which are similar to the standards of Bo Xilai's case: First, the samples must cover both episodic frame and thematic frame. Second, the samples cover both action stories and state-opinion stories. Third, the samples include both news reports and commentaries. Last but not least, the samples cover every issue under the anti-Japan case.

5.4.BBC UK's news coverage

The violence of Chinese protestors is the most prominent theme framed by BBC UK. To frame this theme, BBC UK adopted the framing device of thematic structure in the form of observation.

“Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute” constructed the thematic structure in the form of observation. The news story is filled with observations such as “...some demonstrators attacked Japanese restaurants and smashed Japanese-made cars”, “...burned images of the Japanese flag and shouted slogans denouncing Japan's claims over the islands”, highlighting the violent behaviour taking place

during the protests⁸⁹.

In addition to observation, quotation was also applied to framing the thematic structure. The news coverage entitled “Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence” quoted an eyewitness in the city of Xi’an who said that “Japanese-made cars were randomly stopped, their drivers grabbed and thrown out... and the cars smashed and burned. The police and army seemed to do little to stop the riot”, making the violence in the protests vivid.

Among observation of the violent behaviour of Chinese protestors, BBC UK also supplemented rhetorical structure through dramatic wording. “Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute” adopted the dramatic word “angry” to describe the protests, making the violent emotion salient. “China protests: Japanese firms suspend some operations” defined the demonstrations as “violent anti-Japan protests”.

Although BBC UK seldom used dramatic words in its news stories, it relied heavily on visual tools to achieve rhetorical effect. For example, the extremely rude Chinese word meaning “get the hell out of” (*gunchu*) appeared in the banner, which demanded the Japanese leave China, in the photo of “Japan exports fall for fifth consecutive month”. The portrait of Mao Zedong, who is referred to as a dictator by

⁸⁹ Other examples include “Chinese stage anti-Japan protest in Beijing”, “Anti-Japan protests sweep China”, “China protests: Japanese firms suspend some operations”, and “Chinese stage anti-Japan protest in Beijing”.

the west, also appeared in the photo.



Figure 5.6 Japanese exports fall for fifth consecutive month

“Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence” inserted a photo of a group of men surrounding and smashing the body of a Japanese car, making the violent emotion salient.



Figure 5.7 Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence

Compared with photos, BBC UK used more videos to show violence in the protests. For instance, the news story entitled “Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute” adopted a short video recording a young man smashing a Japanese-made

vehicle with an iron stick vigorously. “Chinese stage anti-Japan protest in Beijing” played a video illustrating protestors clashing with riot police⁹⁰.

Apart from the violence of the protests, the economic influence of the anti-Japan wave is also a frequently reported theme with the framing device of thematic structure in the form of observation and quotation. All of the news stories under this topic exclusively reported on the economic loss on Japanese side. For example, the news story entitled “Honda cuts profit forecast as China-Japan row hits sales” highlighted the anti-Japan protests’ dramatic economic influence in the form of observation, observing that “Honda’s sales in China, its second-largest market, dropped 40% in September”⁹¹. As for quotation, “Japan exports fall for fifth consecutive month” cited from analysts saying that “given the uncertain global economic conditions, Japan’s exports may continue to be weak in coming months”, making the economic trauma Japan suffered salient⁹².

In addition to the violence and economic influence of the protests, Chinese media’s attitude is also a crucial topic. Some of the news stories of this topic were translated

⁹⁰ Other examples include “Anti-Japan protests hit China”, “China-Japan protests resume amid islands row”, and “Fresh protests on China-Japan row on war anniversary”.

⁹¹ Other examples include “Japan exports fall for fifth consecutive month”, “Honda lowers profit forecast amid China- Japan dispute”, “Japanese exports to China fall amid territorial dispute”, and “Nissan cuts full-year profit forecast after China row”.

⁹² Other examples include “Honda lowers profit forecast amid China- Japan dispute”, “Japanese exports to China fall amid territorial dispute”, “Nissan cuts full-year profit forecast after China row”, and “China morning round-up: Islands row hits trade”.

from BBC Chinese. These news stories will be analyzed in the next section. At the same time, BBC UK did produce news stories of its own.

BBC UK framed two kinds of voices in terms of the anti-Japan demonstrations. The first type of voice is a nationalistic one. These news stories vary in terms of the sharpness of their tone. For instance, a commentary from the *People's Daily* reviewing China's historical claim to the Diaoyu Islands, which was quoted by “China morning round-up: Islands row hits trade”, adopted a reserved nationalistic tone as it stuck to tracing history. Also quoting the *People's Daily*, the news story entitled “China protests: Japanese firms suspend some operations”, however, framed a more dramatic tone, saying that “if Japan continues its provocations, then China will take up the battle”⁹³. While the sharpest nationalist tone appeared in “China morning round-up: Islands row hits trade”, which was cited from the *Wen Wei Po* newspaper, a pro-Beijing newspaper in Hong Kong, saying that “10 senior Chinese military leaders appealed for preparations ‘to get rid of Japan’”. Besides the nationalistic voices, BBC UK also framed rational voices. For example, in the middle of the nationalistic voices, “China morning round-up: Islands row hits trade” quoted the *Beijing News*, which cited from Prof Liu Jiangyong of Tsinghua University that “boycotting Japanese goods would not be a rational approach to the dispute.”

⁹³ Other examples include news media quoted in “China morning round-up: China-Japan ties”.

BBC UK did not focus on Chinese news media exclusively. Despite the fact that its attention to Japanese news media could not compete with that to Chinese media, it still framed Japanese news media's attitude toward the protests with the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation.

"Japan-China row: Media worried about economic impact" portrayed Japanese news media's negative comment on China with regard to anti-Japan wave in multiple aspects. The *Mainichi Shimbun* daily blamed China as a whole nation for its dealing with the protests with a sharp tone that "China's response has raised questions as to whether China is a country governed by law that abides by international rules." Some held Chinese central government as responsible. For example, the *Sankei Shimbun* accused Beijing that "the Chinese government appears to be inflaming the young generations, who have been indoctrinated with biased 'patriotic education'"⁹⁴. BBC UK also presented a more cautious voice. For example, the *Asahi Shimbun* daily reported "fear and anxiety among Japanese people living in China", while the *Mainichi Shimbun* warned that "the protests could "cast a dark cloud" over negotiations for a free trade agreement (FTA) between Japan, China and South Korea".

Rhetorical structure was also integrated in the process of quoting Chinese and Japanese news media. Dramatic wording is the framing device that BBC UK applied

⁹⁴ Another example is the *Mainichi Shimbun* daily.

to making the newspaper's standpoint salient. For instance, when framing the nationalist tone of Chinese news media, BBC UK quoted dramatic words and stock phrases such as "provocation"⁹⁵, "take up the battle"⁹⁶, "economic gun"⁹⁷. The dramatic word of "inflammation" used by BBC UK when quoting the *Sankei Shimbun* framed its anger at the Chinese government's role in the anti-Japan demonstrations. The stock phrase of "fear and anxiety" adopted by the *Asahi Shimbun* daily made the newspaper's worry salient.

BBC UK did not pay much attention to the Chinese and Japanese governments' reactions to the protests. "Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence" is the only news story where BBC UK reported on official attitude. BBC UK framed Japan's official attitude through thematic structure in the form of quotation. The news story quoted Noda as saying that "We will continue to take a resolute attitude. But we will also remain calm. Japan will ask the Chinese side to do the same", highlighting Japan's requirement of a rational solution from the Chinese government. However, BBC UK did not produce news stories about Chinese government's attitude.

⁹⁵ Used in "China morning round-up: China-Japan ties", and "China protests: Japanese firms suspend some operations"

⁹⁶ Used in "China protests: Japanese firms suspend some operations"

⁹⁷ Used in "China morning round-up: Anti-Japan protests"

5.5.BBC Chinese's news coverage

The violence of the anti-Japan protests is the topic that BBC Chinese reported most frequently on. To frame the violent side, thematic structure is the most crucial tool.

Between the two forms of thematic structure, BBC UK adopted the form of observation more frequently. “Multiple Japanese stores in China smashed and robbed”⁹⁸ observed vandalism occurring in several cities. “In the city of Qingdao, Shandong Province, more than 150 protesters rushed into the Japanese store Jusco in Huangdao, smashed some counters selling jewelry and clocks, and stole some commodities”⁹⁹. The vivid details made the violent side of the protests salient. The news story also reported on violent acts in the city of Changsha in Hunan Province, the city of Chengdu in Sichuan Province, and Shenzhen and Dongguan in Guangdong Province¹⁰⁰.

Some news stories also adopted the form of quotation to set up thematic structure.

The news story entitled “Shenzhen anti-Japan protestors smashed cars and

⁹⁸ *zaihua dujia Rizi Baihuodian bei dazaqiang*

⁹⁹ “Shandongsheng Qingdaoshi 150 yuming shiweizhe chongjin rizi baihuo chaoshi jiashike huangdaodian, shiyong tiegun deng gongju zahuai yixie shoushi zhongbiao guitai, qiangzou yibufen shangpin”.

¹⁰⁰ Other examples include “Shenzhen anti-Japan protestors smashed Japanese-brand police car” (*Shenzhen fenri youxing minzhong pohuai ripai jingche*), “Anti-Japan protests in big cities like Beijing escalate” (*Beijing deng dachengshi fanri shiwei kangyi shengji*), “Japanese ambassador to China attacked, national flag on the car pulled out” (*Ri zhuhua dashi yuxi, chetou guoqi beiba*), “Multiple cities in China continue to erupt anti-Japan demonstrations” (*Zhongguo ge chengshi chixu baofa fanri youxing shiwei*), and “People across China participate in anti-Japan demonstrations” (*Zhongguo gedi minzhong xiangying canyu fanri youxing*).

restaurants”¹⁰¹ quoted a Hong Kong news report that “some protesters saw a Japanese car in a parking lot, then they knocked on the car and its window with wooden stick, kicked it, jumped on the car and stamped their feet”¹⁰². “Sprotests in multiple cities”¹⁰³ also quoted Hong Kong news media’s report that protesters threw water bottles at Japanese embassy.

Rhetorical structure played an auxiliary role in framing the violence of Chinese protestors. Instead of using dramatic words to describe the protests, dramatic wording was mostly applied to quotations about the protestors’ banners and slogans. “Chinese netizens launched anti-Japan protests in multiple cities”¹⁰⁴ reported that “some people protested outside Japanese embassy in Beijing holding national flags and microphones, requiring Japan to ‘get the hell out of Diaoyu Island’”¹⁰⁵.

Instead of applying dramatic wording to news stories, BBC Chinese placed dramatic photos in some news stories so as to highlight the violent element in the protests, which is similar to BBC UK. Some sensational photos also contained dramatic words in the form of the banners of the protestors. The news story entitled “People across

¹⁰¹ *Shenzhen fanri youxing minzhong pohuai qiche ji canting*

¹⁰² “*bufen youxing renshi zai yige tingchechang kandao riben qiche bianyi mugun qiaoda cheshen he boli, haiyong jiaoti he tiaoshangche jianta*”.

¹⁰³ *Zhongguo wangmin faqi duoge chengshi fanri youxing*

¹⁰⁴ *Zhongguo wangmin faqi duoge chengshi fanri youxing*

¹⁰⁵ “*you minzhong nazhe guoqi he kuoyinqi dao beijing de riben zhuhua dashiguan menwai jinxing shiwei, yaoqiu shiben gunchu diaoyudao*”.

China take part in anti-Japan demonstrations”¹⁰⁶ illustrates this point. Above the lead, the news story inserted a photo illustrating two kids holding anti-Japan slogans with drastic phrases including “We pledge our life to protect Senkaku Island”¹⁰⁷ and “Japanese monster=Japan gets out”¹⁰⁸. The former slogan frames radical nationalism to safeguard the island, while the dramatic words in the latter banner violent emotion towards Japan as the word “Japanese monster” was used by Chinese people during the anti-Japan war in WWII to refer to Japanese soldiers, and the word of “get hell out”(gunchu) is a rude word when requiring others to leave, and which appeared frequently in the photos of BBC Chinese news stories. The photo implies binding between two seemingly contradictory items, a drastically hostile political ideology and little kids, which frames an intense nationalistic education emanating from the Chinese government as BBC UK did.

¹⁰⁶ *Zhongguo gedi minzhong xiangying canyu fanri youxing*

¹⁰⁷ *Women shisi baowei Diaoyudao*

¹⁰⁸ *Riben gui=Riben gun*



Figure 5.8 People across China take part in anti-Japan demonstrations (*Zhongguo gedi minzhong xiangying canyu fanri youxing*)

Another example is “China protests lead to Japanese firm’s suspension”¹⁰⁹. On the right of its lead is a photo of an anti-Japan protest led by three young women. The white banner uses an emotional sentence stating “Beat Japanese dogs to death, return my Senkaku island”¹¹⁰. The Chinese word of “dog”(gou) is a humiliating word when it is used to describe a person. This word appeared in both the red and the white banners in the picture, making the protesters’ radical nationalism salient¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ *Zhongguo fanri shiwei dao zhi ri qi zaihua gongchang tinggong*

¹¹⁰ “*dasi Ribengou, huanwo Diaoyudao*”

¹¹¹ Other examples include “Japanese ambassador to China attacked, national flag on the car pulled out” (*Ri zhuhua dashi yuxi, chetou guoqi beiba*), and “Anti-Japan protests in big cities like Beijing escalate” (*Beijing deng dachengshi fanri shiwei kangyi shengji*).



Figure 5.9 China protests lead to Japanese firm's suspension (*Zhongguo fanri shiwei dao zhi Riqi zaihua gongchang tinggon*)

In addition to the photos containing dramatic words, BBC Chinese also adopted some photos without sensational words but sent out a dramatic emotional message through the images themselves.

“Mukden Incident Anniversary approaches, authority handles civilians’ anti-Japan wave low key”¹¹² inserts this photo above its lead: a man shouting a slogan holds China’s national flag. Surrounding him are policemen and lying on the ground are scattered bottles and flowerpots, which are highly likely to have been thrown at the policemen by the protesters. The image made the out-of-order acts and hysterical

¹¹² *Jiuyiba linjin guanfang didiao chuli minjian fanri*

nature of the protesters involved salient¹¹³.



Figure 5.10 Mukden Incident Anniversary approaches, authority handles civilians' anti-Japan wave low key (*Jiuyiba linjin guanfang didiao chuli minjian fanri*)

Moreover, BBC Chinese adopted images of smashed cars in several news stories. “Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, Japanese companies lost billions of dollars”¹¹⁴ inserted a photo of a seriously smashed Honda car on the right of its lead, making the vandalism in the protests salient¹¹⁵.

¹¹³ Other examples include “Hong Kong media analyzes anti-Japan protests in Mainland and Hong Kong” (*Gangmei fenxi honggang liangdi fanri shiwei*), “China’s media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously” (*Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*), and “China overview: anti-Japan protests” (*Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei*)

¹¹⁴ *Zhongguo fanri shiwei, Ri qiye sunshi shangyi meiyuan*

¹¹⁵ Other examples include “Sales of Japanese vehicles in China decreased 60% last month” (*Rixi qiche shangyue zaihua xiaoliang jianshao liucheng*), “At the time of anti-Japan demonstration multiple Japanese shops smashed and robbed” (*fanri youxing zhiji duoqia Riben shangpu zao zaqiang*)



Figure 5.11 Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, Japanese companies lost billions of dollars (*Zhongguo fanri shiwei, Ri qiye sunshi shangyi meiyuan*)

In addition to the violent acts occurring during the protests, the economic influence of the protests is also an important theme. When framing this theme, BBC Chinese mainly depended on the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation. The news stories are exclusively about the economic influence on Japanese side. BBC Chinese quoted data from other news media or official resources to illustrate the economic influence of the anti-Japan wave. “Japan’s foreign trade in September falls to lowest in 30 years”¹¹⁶ quoted the data released by Japan that “Japan’s value of export to China reached 953.8 billion yen (12.2 billion dollars), falling by 14.1 % compared with last year; its value of import from China, however, reached 1.28 trillion yen (16.4 billion dollars), increasing by 3.8 % compared with

¹¹⁶ *Riben 9 yue waimao shuju diezhi 30 nian zuidi*

last year”¹¹⁷, highlighting the protests’ negative economic influence on Japan¹¹⁸.

Other than quotation, BBC Chinese also adopted the form of observation to set up its thematic structure. However, this form was used much less frequently than quotation. “Anti-Japan demonstrations in China are feared to affect bilateral trade”¹¹⁹ framed the enormous influence of the anti-Japan wave through observation of the fluctuation in stock price of some Japanese brands including Nissan, Uniqlo, and Honda.

Following the economic influence of the anti-Japan wave, how Chinese authority dealt with the protests is another key theme which was framed through thematic structure in the form of observation and quotation.

“Shenzhen offers a reward to arrest vandals in anti-Japan demonstrations”¹²⁰ quoted various cities’ police force statements with regard to arresting vandals, framing

¹¹⁷ “*Riben 9yue dui zhongguo chukou’e wei 9538 yi riyuan (122 yi meiyuan), tongbi caji 14.1%; duihua jinkou ze dadao 1.28 wanyi riyuan (164yi meiyuan), tongbi zengjia 3.8%*”.

¹¹⁸ Other examples include “Japan claims Chinese tourists decreased by 10% in September” (*Riben cheng jiuyue zhongguo furi youke dajian 10%*), “Sales of Japanese cars in China decreased 40% last month” (*Rixiche zai Zhongguo xiaoliang shangyue jianshao 40%*), “Toyota decreases production of Lexus due to anti-Japan emotion in China” (*Fengtian yinwei Zhongguo fanri qingxu dao zhi leikesasi jianchan*), “Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, Japanese companies lost billions of dollars” (*Zhongguo fanri shiwei, Ri qiye sunshi shangyi meiyuan*), “Sales of Japanese cars in China falls because of Diaoyu Island crisis” (*Rixi qiche zaihua xiaoshou yin Diaoyudao weiji xiadie*).

¹¹⁹ *Zhongguo fanri shiwei kong yingxiang shuangbian maoyi*

¹²⁰ *Shenzhen xuanshang tongji fanri shiwei daza pohuaizhe*

Chinese authority's attitude which called for rational patriotism. "China claims anti-Japan protests to be spontaneous acts of the public"¹²¹, however, framed a different attitude of Chinese central government by quoting the spokesman of Chinese Foreign Ministry that "Recently, anti-Japan protest in Mainland China, which is totally caused by the Japanese government's declaration of its illegal purchase of the Diaoyu Islands, is a spontaneous act of the public"¹²². This quotation illustrates the government's wish to distance itself from the protests. "Mukden Incident Anniversary approaches, authority handles civilians' anti-Japan wave low key" observed a series of signs illustrating Chinese government's attitude. The news story observed that the Chinese authorities strengthened guard, soothing protests to some extent, making the Chinese government's milder attitude salient. Besides, the story observed that none of the main Chinese online portals or media reported on any demonstration, highlighting China's efforts to bring a closure to the anti-Japan wave.

In addition, BBC Chinese observed that the Chinese government cast a censorship on news reports on anti-Japan protests. In the news story titled "China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously"¹²³, BBC Chinese observed that the phrase of "anti-Japan protest" (*fanri youxing*) and even the key word "protest" (*youxing*) were listed as "sensitive stock phrases" (*min'gan cizu*) whose search results could not be

¹²¹ *Zhongguo cheng fanri shiwei shi gongzhong zifa xingwei*

¹²² "jinri zai neidi fasheng de fanri shiwei youxing, wanquan shi youyu Riben zhengfu xuanbu feifa goumai diaoyutai dao zhi, shi gongzhong de zifa xingwei".

¹²³ *Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*

shown on Sina weibo website. Even Renmin Net used the stock phrase of “Japan related protests” (*sheri youxing*) instead of “anti-Japan protests” (*fanri youxing*).

As the other protagonist of the diplomatic tension, the Japanese government’s attitude is also framed. The two news stories produced by BBC Chinese framed a soft attitude towards Japan’s government through the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation.

“Japan disproves Yang Jiechi’s speech as baseless”¹²⁴ quoted Japanese chief cabinet secretary Osamu Fujimura’s statement in a press conference that “More important than everything is that the two countries should maintain and strengthen communication in one way, and think for the great good and adopted calm standpoint in the other way”¹²⁵, making it salient that the Japanese government adopted a calmer attitude than the Chinese government. To highlight this point, BBC Chinese added another quotation from Fujimura for the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Sino-Japan diplomatic relationships saying: “Since 1972, the Sino-Japan relationship has experienced dramatic development, shaping a strategic mutual-beneficial form; in spite of some problems, we should still keep the big picture in mind and solve

¹²⁴ *Riben fanbo Yang Jiechi yanjiang haowu genju*

¹²⁵ “*bi shenme dou zhongyao de shi liangguo yibian weichi he qianghua yisi shutong, yibian youbiyao cong daju zhuoyan, xianghu caiqu lengjing yingdui de lichen*”.

(these problems) calmly through dialogue”¹²⁶. The two quotations framed Japan’s eagerness for a rational solution towards the anti-Japan wave. However, this news story also framed a tougher side of the Japanese government. BBC Chinese quoted the Prime Minister’s assistant Akihisa Nagashima’s speech on TBS that “If China prosecutes in an International Court of Justice about the Diaoyu Islands dispute, Japan is willing to respond to the lawsuit.” Quoting two different voices, the news story framed Japanese government’s voice as calm but with a bottomline. “Sino-Japanese relationship deteriorates rapidly, Japanese government seeks rapprochement”¹²⁷ also quoted Fujimura’s comment on the three Chinese ships near the Diaoyu Islands that “considering the big picture, the two countries should solve the dispute based on thorough dialogue.”¹²⁸ and his comment on China postponing the ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Sino-Japan diplomatic relationship that “an individual affair should not affect the general situation of Sino-Japan relationship, deepening strategic mutual-beneficial relation of the two countries from the viewpoint of a big picture is crucial.”¹²⁹ Both of the quotations highlighted the appeal for Japan to keep a big picture and to strengthen the importance of Sino-Japan relationships. In addition to quotation, the news story

¹²⁶ “1972 nian yilai, Zhongri guanxi jingguo henda fazhan, chengle zhanlue huhui xingtai, suiran bushi youxie nanti, dan yingcong daju zhuoyan lengjing duihua jiejie”.

¹²⁷ *Zhongri guanxi ji ehua riben zhengfu mou xiuhao*

¹²⁸ “cong daju laijiang, shuangfang yingzai chedi duihua de jichushang zouxiang shoushi jiufen de jumian”.

¹²⁹ “gebie shiwu buying yingxiang zhongri guanxi zhengti jumian, cong daju guandian jiashen liangguo zhanlue huhui guanxi hen zhongyao”.

also observed Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda's change of speech in the United Nations General Assembly. BBC Chinese observed that rather than claim Japan's sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands and Takeshima and mentioning the dispute over the two islands, Noda just stressed Japan's stand in a peaceful solution to territory dispute, and appealed to international society to use international institutions flexibly to solve territorial disputes. The observation made Japan's calm attitude salient¹³⁰. Moreover, this news story also adopted the framing device of rhetorical structure. BBC Chinese added a subtitle of "cabinet's attitude softens"¹³¹, defining Japan's official attitude toward the diplomatic problem.

In addition to China and Japan, BBC Chinese also framed the third-party's efforts to ease the tension with the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation.

In the closing part of "Japan disproves Yang Jiechi's speech as baseless"¹³², BBC Chinese quoted Japanese state-run TV station NHK's interview with the Vice State Secretary of the United States, Armitage. BBC Chinese quoted Armitage's words twice. The first time, the news story quoted him stressing that "the US just handed Japan the jurisdiction of Diaoyu Islands in 1972"¹³³. The second time, at the end of

¹³⁰ Another example is "IMF President in Tokyo appeals for rapprochement of Sino-Japan relationship" (*IMF zongcai dongjing huyu zhongri gaishan guanxi*)

¹³¹ *neige taidu ruanhua*

¹³² *Riben fanbo Yang Jiechi yanjiang haowu genju*

¹³³ *"Meiguo 1972nian ba Diaoyudao jiaogei Riben zhishi guanxiaquan."*

the story, BBC Chinese quoted Armitage's answer to NHK's question about which side he was on, "This question is not fair. Although if the Senkaku Islands were attacked under Japan's ruling, the US-Japan Security Pact would be applied to (this situation). But if a conflict erupted between China and Japan, it would be a diplomatic failure for the US"¹³⁴. The two quotations made the US disapproval of military acts from Japan and its efforts to ease the tension between China and Japan salient. "IMF President in Tokyo appeals for rapprochement of Sino-Japan relationship"¹³⁵ cited from IMF President Lagarde who stated that "Asia-Pacific countries' achievement of rapid economic growth is essential for the global economy. We look forward to a satisfactory and fast solution to any inharmonious problem. Economic coordination is closely tied to global economic benefit"¹³⁶. The quotation highlighted the IMF's expectation of the restoration of the relationship between the two countries.

The media reaction, especially the Chinese media's reaction, to the anti-Japan wave is also a theme that BBC Chinese paid attention to.

BBC Chinese framed the nationalistic voice of Chinese news media through thematic structure in the form of quotation. "China overview: Gu Kailai and anti-Japan

¹³⁴ "zhege wenti bu gongping, suiran Riben tongzhixia de Jian'ge zhudao ruzao gongji, Rimei anbao tiaoyue shiyong, dan Zhongri ru fasheng chongtu, jiu yiwei zhe Meiguo waijiao shibai".

¹³⁵ IMF zongcai dongjing huyu zhongri gaishan guanxi

¹³⁶ Yatai geguo shixian jingji gao zengzhang dui shijie jingji shi buke huoque de liliang, women qidai liangguo yuanman he xunsu di jie jue renhe bu hemu wenti, jingji cengmian de xietiao guanxi yu shijie jingji zhengti liyi youguan.

protests”¹³⁷ quoted the bilingual editorial of the *Global Times* that “Being unwilling to have military conflict does not mean being afraid of going through war”¹³⁸. “China overview: Sino-Japan relationship deteriorates”¹³⁹ cited from the *People’s Daily* overseas edition’s front page editorial that “The anger of the big country has not shown up yet. Chinese enterprises and civilians with a bigger wallet have reason to change their investment and consumption tendency based on their preference”¹⁴⁰. Apart from the nationalistic voices, BBC Chinese framed rational voices as well. The news coverage entitled “China overview: Anti-Japan protests”¹⁴¹ quoted a series of news media that criticized the extreme actions. One of the quotations was from a commentary in the *People’s Daily*, saying “Chinese demonstrators should remain law-abiding and civilised. Destroying private properties of fellow Chinese, or attacking Japanese citizens in China, are ‘extremely inappropriate’”¹⁴². A commentary from the *China Daily* urged the society to conduct “anger management”(fennu guanli)¹⁴³.

Other than Chinese newspapers’ attitudes, BBC Chinese also reported on Chinese

¹³⁷ *Zhongguo baozhai: Gu Kailai yu fanri shiwei*

¹³⁸ *bu yuanyi fasheng junshi chongtu, bu yiweizhe Zhongguo jupa zhanzheng jiejie.*

¹³⁹ *Zhongguo baozhai: Zhongri guanxi ehua*

¹⁴⁰ “daguo zhinu hazai houtou, yaobao jianguo de zhongguo qiye he minzhong you liyou genju ziji de haowu qu gaibian touzi he xiaofei quxiang”.

¹⁴¹ *Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei*

¹⁴² “wenming shoufa yingshi gongmin de jiben suzhi. sunhai tongbao de hefa caichan, qiannu zaihua de Riben gongmin, shi jibu tuodang de”.

¹⁴³ Other examples include “China overview: Gu Kaiali and anti-Japan protests”(Zhongguo baozhai: Gu Kailai yu fanri shiwei), “China overview: anti-Japan protests” (Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei), and “China’s media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously” (Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing).

online portals' reaction to the protests. "China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously"¹⁴⁴ quoted Caijing Net and Sina, both calling for rational patriotism. When framing Chinese official news media's voices, BBC Chinese integrated rhetorical structure into thematic structure to highlight dramatic nationalistic tones. An emotive word meaning "compatriots"(*tongbao*) was adopted to refer to Chinese people, the stock phrase of "big country"(*daguo*) meant China, "thief"(*zeiren*), on the other hand, stood for Japan¹⁴⁵. China was portrayed as "rising"(*jueqi*)¹⁴⁶, meanwhile dramatic words such as "provocation"(*tiaoxin*)¹⁴⁷, "gloat"(*xingzai lehuo*)¹⁴⁸ were connected with Japan. In addition to dramatic word choice, some sentences also framed the nationalistic tone. "China overview: anti-Japan protests" quoted the *People's Daily* asking China to "pull the economic trigger on Japan, firing at its industries such as manufacturing and finance"¹⁴⁹.

In addition to online portals, BBC Chinese also kept an eye on trends in social media such as *Weibo*. BBC Chinese framed the social media voice with the framing device of thematic structure in the forms of observation and quotation.

¹⁴⁴ *Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxin*

¹⁴⁵ Used in "China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously" (*Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*)

¹⁴⁶ Used in "China overview: Sino-Japan relationship deteriorates"(*Zhongguo baozhai: Zhongri guanxi ehua*).

¹⁴⁷ Used in "China overview: Sino-Japan relationship deteriorates"(*Zhongguo baozhai: Zhongri guanxi ehua*), and "China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously" (*Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*).

¹⁴⁸ Used in "China overview: anti-Japan protests"(*Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei*).

¹⁴⁹ "*Zhongguo dui Riben koudong jingji banji, duiqi zhizaoye yu jinrongye deng mubiao kaihuo*".

In the news story entitled “China’s media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously”¹⁵⁰, BBC Chinese observed that “Compared with state-run media’s appeal for restraint, besides expressing that smashing civilians’ propriety only does harm to our compatriots in weibo, more various voices appear”¹⁵¹, highlighting the variety of opinions which were not reflected in newspapers in Chinese social media. BBC Chinese quoted different comments from three netizens, all disagreeing with violent anti-Japan protests. One even questioned the role of the Chinese government in the whole anti-Japan wave, highlighting the doubtful function of the Chinese government in these protests. These comments made it salient that Chinese social media enjoys a higher degree of freedom than other media channels.

In addition to the Mainland China’s media, BBC Chinese also paid attention to the attitudes of other regions’ media. “Hong Kong media analyzes anti-Japan protests in Mainland and Hong Kong”¹⁵² quoted a series of Hong Kong newspapers’ criticisms on the Mainland China’s anti-Japan demonstrations. Newspapers including the *Wen Wei Po*, the *Apple Daily*, the *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, and the *Ming Pao* contrasted the mainland’s protests with Hong Kong’s demonstrations. In this process, rhetorical structure also played an important role. When describing Hong Kong’s

¹⁵⁰ *Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*

¹⁵¹ “*xiangduiyu guanmei de huyu kezhi, Zhongguo wangmin de weibo chule biaoshi daza gongmin caichan zhirang tongbao daomei wai, hai xianshi chu geng duoyang de shengyin*”.

¹⁵² *Gangmei fenxi Zhonggang liangdi fanri shiwei*

demonstrations, Hong Kong media adopted sensational words such as “peaceful” (*heping*), “rational” (*lixing*), “in order” (*zhixu jingran*), “very civilized” (*feichang wenming*), “illustrate citizens’ self-restraint” (*jinxian gongmin suyang*). When it comes to the mainland’s protests, descriptive words include “hit” (*da*), “smash” (*za*), “rob” (*qiang*), “violent outlet” (*baoli xuanxie*). The contrast made it salient that Hong Kong media took pride in the local demonstrations while it had contempt for the mainland’s protests. When framing this issue, BBC Chinese still relied on the framing device of thematic structure. Quotation is the most frequently used form. Plus, some Hong Kong newspapers’ comments also appeared in the “China overview” (*Zhongguo baozhai*) column¹⁵³. “British media: anti-Japan wave illustrates the shadow of 18th CPC National Congress power struggle”¹⁵⁴ framed the British media’s attitude toward the Sino-Japan relationship disturbance with the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotations from several British newspapers including the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian* and the *International Herald Tribune*. The quotations made it salient that British media tend to link the tension between the two nations to China’s political tricks. In addition to citing from various news media, “British media: Diaoyu Islands dispute shadow haunts Japanese

¹⁵³ “China overview: Gu Kaiali and anti-Japan protests”(Zhongguo baozhai: Gu Kailai yu fanri shiwei), “China overview: anti-Japan protests”(Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei), “China overview: Sino-Japan relationship deteriorates”(Zhongguo baozhai: Zhongri guanxi ehua)

¹⁵⁴ Yingmei: fanri langchao xianshi shibada quandou yinying

economy”¹⁵⁵ was cited exclusively from the *Guardian*, analyzing the economic influence of the dispute. However, as the target of the anti-Japan wave, Japanese media’s voice earned even less attention than British media from BBC Chinese. BBC Chinese only produced one brief news report titled “Japanese media: Japanese government strikes back Chinese criticism”¹⁵⁶, quoting Kyodo News Agency’s claim that “Japan will change its earlier strategy of avoiding Chinese statements and actions, and confront the attack directly, so as to tell international society that China’s position is baseless”¹⁵⁷, highlighting Japan’s tough attitude.

5.6.FT UK’s news coverage

The economic consequence of the anti-Japan wave is the most frequently reported topic of the FT UK. When framing this issue, the FT UK depended on the framing device of thematic structure in the forms of quotation and observation.

The news coverage entitled “Chinese tourists give Japan wide berth” illustrates the framing pattern of the majority of the FT UK’s news stories on this topic. For a start, the FT UK observed that:

“But even Kowakien, with its renowned Japanese garden and hot springs, has not

¹⁵⁵ *Yingmei: Diaoyudao zhengduan yinying longzhao Riben jingji*

¹⁵⁶ *Rimei: Riben zhengfu fanji Zhongfang piping gongshi*

¹⁵⁷ *“Rifang jiang gaibian yiwang huibi Zhongfang yanxing de fangzhen, caiqu zhengmian yingji zhanshu, gaosu guoji shehui Zhongfang de zhuzhang shi haowu genju de”.*

been spared the sharp drop in Chinese visitors following renewed tensions over a chain of islands that both countries claim sovereignty over.”

The observation illustrates that the anti-Japan wave in China dealt a blow to Japan's tourism industry, which is highlighted by the following quotation of a representative of the Kowaikien resort: “About 70 per cent of bookings from China were cancelled in September and the outlook is worse for October”. The FT UK made this point salient by framing it repeatedly in the body of the news story through quotation and observation of specific numbers. The news story quoted Japan's foreign ministry's data that “The number of tourist visas issued to Chinese visitors fell 15 per cent from 129,900 in July to 109,700 in August--when the Senkaku dispute began to worsen”. The FT UK also observed that “Japan's two biggest airlines, Japan Airlines and All Nippon Airways, have seen more than 60,000 seat bookings cancelled between September and November”¹⁵⁸.

The FT UK also adopted rhetorical structure when framing the economic loss that Japan suffered. For instance, the FT UK used the dramatic word of “gloomy” in the title of the news story “Japanese businesses report gloomy outlook”, setting a pessimistic tone. Following the title, the news story used key words such as “gloom”,

¹⁵⁸ Other examples include “Japanese exports hit by China dispute”, “Japanese investment in China falls sharply”, “Mazda hit by anti-Japan protests in China”, “Nissan cuts forecast after China boycott”, “Nissan warns of slowing China expansion”, “September vehicle sales down in China”, “Toyota to reduce China-bound production”, “Toyota to cut output in China by half”, and “China sales buoy Hyundai Q3 profits”.

“negative” and “headwinds” making the pessimistic view salient. “Japanese investment in China falls sharply” adopted stock phrases including “steep drop” and “sharp fall” to frame the economic blow to Japanese business. Plus, the news story used the dramatic word of “stunned” to portray Japanese business facing the economic damage, highlighting the severity of the damage.

The violence of the protests is another theme framed through thematic structure in the form of observation. “Anti-Japan protests spread in China” observed that “In Beijing on Saturday, demonstrators hurled rocks, eggs and bottles at the Japanese embassy”, making the violent acts vivid. To make the violence salient, the FT UK also observed that some Japanese-run factories and shops were “attacked and one was burnt” in Qingdao. Besides, the FT UK observed that in Shenzhen, “police used tear gas and water cannons” to disperse protestors¹⁵⁹. In addition to observation, the news coverage entitled “Anti-Japan protests sweep China” also adopted the form of quotation to frame the violent emotion of Chinese protestors. In the closing part, the FT UK quoted one Chinese internet user’s comment, saying that “The Diaoyu Islands are Chinese territory, how come we don’t send a few warships and chase the Japanese devils out of there?” Plus, the FT UK quotes some insulting slogans such as “Kneel down bastards”, “Flatten Tokyo, destroy Japan!” in “Anti-Japan protests spread across China”.

¹⁵⁹ Other examples include “Anti-Japanese protests sweep China” and “Japanese companies shut China factories”.

Apart from framing the violence of Chinese protests directly, the FT UK also highlighted this point by contrasting it with a Japanese protest.

“China protests spur Japanese nationalists” framed a Japanese protest against China, in response to the anti-Japan wave in China. The framing device applied to this news story was also that of thematic structure. In contrast with its news reports on Chinese protests, the FT UK focused more on the order of Japan’s protest. The FT UK observed that “even nationalist activists are hardly as fired up as Chinese demonstrators”, drawing a line between the protests in these two countries. In addition, the FT UK quoted the organizer of the protest as saying that “banners that ‘express racial discrimination’ are prohibited”, highlighting the calm attitude of the Japanese protest.

The framing device of rhetorical structure was also used by the FT UK to frame the violence of the protests, although it was used far less frequently than thematic structure. For example, the FT UK used the dramatic word “violent” to describe the anti-Japan protests in the news story titled “Mazda hit by anti-Japan protests in China”. Plus, the phrase “severely injured by a mob” made the violent image salient. In addition to the usual dramatic wording, the FT UK also used the rhetorical device of irony in “Toyota Motor--China cutbacks”, making its criticism on the violent protests in China salient:

“Hit your foreign enemies where it hurts by smashing up cars owned by your fellow countrymen. That was the clever reaction of some Chinese protesters last week to the long-running territorial tussle in the East China Sea between China and Japan.”

“Anti-Japan protests spread in China” adopted the dramatic word “flare-up” to highlight the intensity of the anti-Japan emotion. “Anti-Japan protests spread across

China” adopted the stock phrase of “one of their worst crises since the two established diplomatic ties 40 years ago” to portray how serious the dispute was.

To frame the tension of the protests, the FT UK adopted several dramatic photos to fill in the blanks in wording. For example, the photo of “Fallout feared from islands protest” framed tension by illustrating confrontation between the military and civilians. Plus, the photo includes the portraits of Mao Zedong, making the Chinese appeal for violence salient.



Figure 5.12 Fallout feared from islands protest

A photo of a street flooded with Chinese people protesting against Japan, with banners and red flags above their heads, appeared in “Anti-Japanese protests sweep China”.



Figure 5.13 Anti-Japanese protests sweep China

“Toyota to reduce China-bound production” adopted a photo of a turned-over car being surrounded by a group of people.



Figure 5.14 Toyota to reduce China-bound production

In addition, the FT UK paid close attention to the Chinese and the Japanese governments’ responses to the anti-Japan wave. The most common framing device adopted in this case is thematic structure, including both forms of observation and quotation.

“Japan warns on island dispute with China” frames Japan’s tough side. The news story observed requests for harsher punishment on Chinese nationalists who landed on one of the disputed islands. The FT UK quoted Japan’s democratic party chairman, also chairman of the national public safety commission, the top national-security agency, who said that “This sort of behaviour, which is intended as a violation of territorial sovereignty, is different from normal illegal immigration and must be punished differently”, making the tough attitude salient¹⁶⁰. However, the ruling Japanese government was still framed as holding a relatively calm attitude towards China as what the FT UK observed and quoted were peaceful gestures.

The news story entitled “Japan voices anger at Chinese incursion” demonstrates the major framing pattern used when it comes to the official response. For a start, the FT UK observed that China posed a challenge to Japan by sending state vessels to the disputed waters and promising to conduct routine surveillance in the area, framing China’s tough attitude on this issue. Following the observation, the FT UK quoted China’s assistant foreign minister as saying that “There is a sinister tendency inside Japan that is taking Japan and China-Japan relations down an extremely dangerous road”, making China’s hostility towards Japan salient. The FT UK kept the dramatic word of “sinister” in this saying, dramatizing China’s hostility. Afterwards, the FT UK turned its attention to Japan’s reaction to the challenge posed by Chinese government. The FT observed Tokyo’s protest against the “incursions by the Chinese

¹⁶⁰ Another example is “Tokyo governor attacks plans for islands”.

vessels”. When quoting “the government’s top spokesman”, the FT UK picked two words “truly regrettable” to illustrate Japan’s reaction to China. Following the quotation, the FT UK observed that:

Japan has repeatedly sought to reassure China that nationalisation of the three Senkaku islands is not intended as a provocation. The central government already rented the islands, banning landings on them to avoid antagonising Beijing.

The observation made Japan’s passive position salient, which is strengthened by a quotation from Japan’s foreign ministry that “The most important thing is for the two sides to act calmly and not to lose sight of the big picture in Japan-China ties.”¹⁶¹ For example, when explaining the Japanese government’s purchase of the Diaoyu Islands, the news story entitled “Japan’s ambassador to China called home” cited from Japan’s description of its goal saying that the goal of the purchase would be to “continue quiet and peaceful management of the Senkaku Islands and nearby seas”, highlighting the peaceful intention of the Japanese government which it had itself claimed. This standpoint was repeated in the news story entitled “Japanese minister urges China to stay calm” as the FT UK quoted its interviewee Japanese foreign Minister Koichiro Gomba that:

He defended Japan’s purchase of the islands as a “practical measure” intended to pre-empt Tokyo’s nationalist governor, Shintaro Ishihara, who this year goaded China by threatening to buy and develop them.

Moreover, the FT UK quoted his comment that “Overall, I believe the government of

¹⁶¹ Other examples include “Tokyo governor attacks plans for islands”, and “Senior Chinese officials snub IMF meeting”.

Japan as well as the Japanese people are responding in a calm manner as well as in a restrained manner”, highlighting the calmness of Japan’s attitude towards the dispute.

As for China’s response to the dispute, the FT UK framed it in a much more provocative way with the framing device of thematic structure in the forms of quotation and observation. “China attacks Japan over islands dispute”quoted Senior Colonel Geng Yansheng, a Chinese Defence Ministry spokesman’s statement that “Safeguarding the nation’s sovereignty and maritime interests is the joint responsibility of all state organs including the military.” The statement makes Chinese military provocation salient¹⁶².

The framing device of rhetorical structure also played an auxiliary role. For instance, the FT UK adopted the key word of “attack” in the title “China attacks Japan over islands dispute”, highlighting the aggressiveness of China towards Japan. The news story entitled “Japan’s ambassador to China called home” adopted the dramatic word of “bellicose”to portray Chinese official media responding to Sino-Japan tension. “China grapples with great power status” used the stock phrase of “describing its fury” when describing the Chinese government sending surveillance vessels into disputed waters, which made China’s emotional response salient.

¹⁶² Other examples include “Tokyo governor attacks plans for islands”, and “China raises stakes over disputed islands”.

With the framing device of rhetoric structure, the FT UK pointed at the Chinese government as the pusher of the nationalistic emotion behind the curtain. In “Anti-Japanese protests sweep China”, the FT UK linked Chinese government with the nationalistic emotion with a sentence of “China’s ruling Communist party has encouraged popular nationalist sentiment for decades as a means of strengthening its own political legitimacy”. Moreover, the FT UK framed a more complicated role of the Chinese government when simultaneously facing the diplomatic and domestic pressure. “Japan voices anger at Chinese incursion” cited from some analysts, saying that “while China wants to avoid confrontation over the islands, it is desperate to convince its own public that it is robustly defending national interests.”¹⁶³ The quotation framed a two-sided motivation for Chinese government’s reaction to the territory dispute. Furthermore, the FT UK framed China’s provocative attitude towards Japan to be a part of its general aggressive diplomatic strategy. The FT UK used both the framing devices of thematic structure and rhetorical structure. In “China grapples with great power status”, the FT UK adopted the sentence: “This dangerous game of cat and mouse is the latest example of China’s bickering with other nations near and far”, highlighting China’s provocative gestures to countries other than Japan. Then the FT UK observed China’s tension with the Philippines and Vietnam over disputed territory, and its problem with the United States over its dispute with Japan. Then the news story used the key words of “nationalist sentiment

¹⁶³ Another example is “Anti-Japanese protests sweep China”

and expansionist views” to make China’s change to the direction of “hawkish” military salient.

Apart from the two protagonists of Sino-Japan dispute, the FT UK also framed the attitude of the United States. The framing device adopted is thematic structure in the form of observation and quotation. “US admiral plays down China-Japan tension” observed for a start that:

The top US military commander in the Asia-Pacific region has played down tensions between China and its neighbours over rival territorial claims and stressed the need for long-term military co- operation between Washington and Beijing.

The observation set a general tone for the attitude of the US in terms of the territory dispute between the two countries. Then the story used several quotations from the US commander stressing the importance of a peaceful relationship between China and the US, making it salient that the US attached importance to its relationship with China¹⁶⁴.

5.7.Comparison between the four online portals’ framing patterns

When it comes to reporting on the anti-Japan wave, thematic structure is the main framing device for BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK, whereas rhetorical structure plays an auxiliary role. As the FT Chinese does not conduct news reporting,

¹⁶⁴ Another example is “US urges ‘restraint’ in Senkaku dispute”

this study does not include it as a target for framing comparison. The FT Chinese will be a target for analysis in the translation study for its translation of the FT UK's news stories.

Violence of the protests in China and the anti-Japan wave's economic influence on Japan are the two most frequently framed themes for all of the three online portals, in spite of a slight difference in the frequency between these two themes. The three online portals relied on illustrating details of the violent acts during the protests with the framing device of thematic structure.

With regard to this theme, observation is the most crucial form of thematic structure for all three online portals as the three online portals framed the violent acts of Chinese protestors through details of vandals occurring during the demonstrations. However, the two BBC online portals framed in a fairly detailed way. News stories such as BBC UK's "Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute" and BBC Chinese's "Multiple Japanese stores in China smashed and robbed" observed abundant details, including specific locations, of the violent acts. The FT UK, by contrast, mostly provided sole a general description of the vandals. Meanwhile, the FT UK conducted interviews with protestors in its some of news stories including "Anti-Japanese protests sweep China" whereas neither of the two BBC online interviewed Chinese protestors. Moreover, the FT UK constructed a comparison between Chinese protests with Japanese ones so as to frame the violent image of

Chinese protestors and restrained image of Japanese protestors¹⁶⁵. For the same reason, BBC Chinese compared Chinese protests with those in Hong Kong¹⁶⁶. The difference lies in that the former is an original news story of the FT UK, while the latter is an extraction from other news media. BBC UK, however, did not conduct any comparison.

As for the rhetorical structure applied to this theme, the three online portals present a common characteristic: they relied on dramatic photos instead of dramatic wording to frame the violence. Several elements, including provocative slogans, turned-over Japanese-made vehicles, national flags, the portrait of Mao Zedong, appear repeatedly in the photos, making nationalism salient. The FT UK's "Anti-Japan protests take place in dozens cities again" and BBC UK's "Japan exports fall for fifth consecutive month" even adopted the same photo. However, a difference lies between the three online portals in terms of the application of visual aids. The two BBC online portals used more photos reflecting violent acts, such as those carried out by vandals, than the FT UK. BBC UK used videos containing vandalism in Chinese protests in several news stories including "Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute" and "Chinese stage anti-Japan protest in Beijing". Without any video, BBC Chinese used dramatically violent photos in some of its news stories like "Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, Japanese companies lost billions of dollars".

¹⁶⁵ China protests spur Japanese nationalists

¹⁶⁶ Hong Kong media analyzes anti-Japan protests in the Mainland China and in Hong Kong (*Gangmei fenxi Zhonggang liangdi fanri shiwei*)

The FT UK, however, tended to adopt photos of parades or crowds to suggest the scale of the protests rather than acts of violence.

Economic influence of Sino-Japan tension is an equally popular topic as the topic of violence for the three online portals. The FT UK paid even more attention to the economic topic than to violence. When framing the economic influence, the three online portals present two common characteristics, whereas no crucial difference exists between the three online portals. First of all, when demonstrating the economic influence, all of the three online portals focused exclusively on the economic losses for Japan that the anti-Japan wave caused. While none of the three online portals mentioned the economic situation of China during this period of time. Secondly, all of the three online portals relied on the framing device of thematic structure in the forms of quotation and observation of data. In contrast, the framing device of rhetorical structure was only used occasionally.

As for the attitudes of the Chinese and the Japanese governments towards the anti-Japan wave, BBC Chinese showed most interest, followed by the FT UK, while BBC UK showed little interest as it produced only one news story concerning the Japanese government's response.

In the process of framing the two governments' attitudes, the three online portals present different patterns. BBC Chinese highlighted the Chinese government's

efforts to cool down the nationalistic emotion and rationalize the demonstrations through observation and quotation of the Chinese government's policies to prevent violent protests¹⁶⁷ or punishments of vandals¹⁶⁸, even its censorship on media¹⁶⁹. The FT UK, on contrary, made China's provocative gesture salient by the means of quoting nationalistic comments from Chinese officials¹⁷⁰, even tracing its unfriendly records with its other neighbours¹⁷¹. Furthermore, the FT UK probed the role that Chinese government played in the nationalistic performance of Chinese people with the framing device of rhetorical structure¹⁷². BBC UK, however, did not frame China's attitude at all.

What the three online portals have in common is that they all framed Japan as an image of self-restraint. The sole news story on this topic that BBC UK produced, "Japan PM Noda urges China to prevent anti-Japan violence", highlighted the Japanese government's appeal for a calm attitude from both sides. BBC Chinese also stressed Japan's efforts to promote a peaceful relationship between the two countries

¹⁶⁷ Mukden Incident Anniversary approaches, authority handles civilians' anti-Japan wave low key (*jiuyiba linjin guanfang didiao chuli minjian fanri*)

¹⁶⁸ Shenzhen offers a reward to arrest vandals in anti-Japan demonstrations (*Shenzhen xuanshang tongji fanri shiwei daza pohuaizhe*)

¹⁶⁹ China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously (*Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*)

¹⁷⁰ China attacks Japan over islands dispute

¹⁷¹ China grapples with great power status

¹⁷² Examples include "Anti-Japanese protests sweep China" and "Japan voices anger at Chinese incursion"

with the framing device of thematic structure¹⁷³. Similarly, the FT UK framed this point mainly in the form of quotation from Japanese officials. The news story entitled “Japan’s ambassador to China called home” illustrates this framing pattern. Even though the news story entitled “Japan voices anger at Chinese incursion” illustrates voices supporting tougher policies against China, it still closes with government’s voice calling for rational behaviour. Even when portraying Japan’s protests against China, the FT UK highlighted the rationalism of Japan by quoting the organiser’s claim of restraining regulations for the protestors¹⁷⁴.

Apart from China and Japan, BBC Chinese and the FT UK also portrayed the third-party’s attitudes toward the tension between China and Japan. Both of these online portals framed the responses from the US with the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation. The two online portals both framed the US as an image of refraining from a military conflict with China¹⁷⁵.

What the two BBC online portals framed while the FT UK did not is media’s responses to the Sino-Japan dispute. Both of the two BBC online portals have columns to present Chinese¹⁷⁶, including Hong Kong’s, news media’s voices with regard to popular news events. The two online portals framed Chinese news media’s

¹⁷³ Sino-Japanese relationship deteriorates rapidly, Japanese government seeks rapprochement (*Zhongri guanxi ji ehua Riben zhengfu mou xiuhao*)

¹⁷⁴ China protests spur Japanese nationalists

¹⁷⁵ BBC Chinese’s “Japan disproves Yang Jiechi’s speech as baseless, and the FT UK’s “US admiral plays down China-Japan tension”.

¹⁷⁶ BBC UK’s “China morning round-up”, and BBC Chinese’s “China overview”

voices towards the anti-Japan protests through thematic structure in the form of quotation. Both nationalistic and rational voices were portrayed. However, the two BBC online portals paid much less attention to Japanese media's response. "Japan-China row: Media worried about economic impact" is the sole news story of BBC UK which mentions Japanese media's comments, covering various standpoints of several media. BBC Chinese just framed one Japanese news media's voice which held a tough standpoint¹⁷⁷. Compared with its indifference to Japanese media, BBC Chinese produced two news stories concerning British media's comments¹⁷⁸, which are the only news stories on the media's attitude of a third-party country. However, the comments from the British media were not concerned with the protests, but rather with the political and economic significances of the anti-Japan wave. Hence, it is likely that BBC Chinese did not use these two news stories to frame British media's attitude, but to conduct analysis through other media's mouths. Moreover, BBC Chinese paid attention to Chinese social media's reactions to the protests as well¹⁷⁹, which fits the current developing trend of Chinese online media. By contrast, the FT UK only mentioned once Xinhua's call for rational behaviour in Chinese protests¹⁸⁰. It did not produce any news story concerning the media's attitudes.

¹⁷⁷ Japanese media: Japanese government strikes back at Chinese criticism

¹⁷⁸ Examples include "British media: anti-Japan wave illustrates the shadow of 18th CPC National Congress power struggle" and "British media: Diaoyu Islands dispute shadow haunts Japanese economy".

¹⁷⁹ "China's media treat anti-Japan demonstrations cautiously" (*Zhongguo meiti jinshen duidai fanri youxing*)

¹⁸⁰ Anti-Japan protests spread in China

5.8. Translation between the English and the Chinese News

Stories of the four online portals

BBC UK translated three news stories from BBC Chinese¹⁸¹, all of which are news extractions from the column “China overview” of BBC Chinese. At the same time, BBC Chinese translated one news story from BBC UK.

When translating from BBC Chinese, adding information is the most frequent modification carried out by BBC UK. In “China morning round-up: anti-Japan protests”, BBC UK added a comment from Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News* warning that “violent protests will only hamper China's diplomatic efforts to reclaim the islands”. In addition, the English version added several newspapers’ news reports on other news events in that week while the original Chinese version stuck to the protests. The adding of the information relates to the needs of the target readership. As the news relevance of anti-Japan protests to British readers is much less than that to Chinese readers, and the British readers who would consume the news of anti-Japan protests are highly likely to have interest in China, therefore, BBC UK provided brief reports on a series of key events in China¹⁸².

In addition, change of lead is another modification conducted by BBC UK. In the Chinese news story entitled “China overview: anti-Japan protests”, the lead

¹⁸¹ See Appendix II

¹⁸² Another example is “China overview: Gu Kaiali and anti-Japan protests”(Zhongguo baozhai: Gu Kailai yu fanri shiwei).

comments that anti-Japan protests were the focus of Chinese newspapers on Monday. The TL, however, more specifically pointed out in its lead that newspapers “condemned” the protests which “turned violent”, highlighting the critical attitudes of Chinese newspapers.

In the process of translation, BBC Chinese adopted the modifications of elimination of unnecessary information and change in the order of paragraphs¹⁸³.

As for changes in the order of paragraphs, BBC Chinese inserted the original ninth paragraph which reports the specific falls of certain Japanese companies’ shares to the place of fourth paragraph. Thus, the Chinese version provides specific share information right after the third paragraph which claims that certain Japanese companies’ shares fell. Plus, BBC Chinese put the part citing the comment from Martin Schulz of Fujitsu Research Institute behind Japan’s Chief Cabinet Secretary Osamu Fujimura’s declaration of Tokyo’s moves (the original fifth and sixth paragraphs put into the places of ninth and tenth paragraphs). BBC UK paragraphed this part in a geographic way as the English version first introduced the opinion of a westerner before bringing in the comments from two Japanese together. BBC Chinese, however, rearranged this part in an ideological way. The Chinese version first demonstrated the Japanese government’s attitude that provoked China to protect Japanese enterprises through the words of a Japanese official. Afterwards, the

¹⁸³ China protests: Fears rise over Japan-China trade ties (*Zhongguo fanri youxing huo daji shuangbian maoyi*)

Chinese version brought in the comments from two non-government figures that share similar viewpoints.

As for the closing parts, the two BBC online portals adopted different strategies. BBC UK wrapped up the report with a quotation of an optimistic opinion on China-Japan trade whereas BBC Chinese eliminated the last third of the original story, closing with a comment on the importance of protecting Japanese firms in China. Thus, BBC Chinese emphasized more on the negative influence of Sino-Japan tension.

The FT Chinese adopted more modifications in the process of translation. Change of title is a frequent modification during the process of translation by the FT Chinese.

The FT Chinese changed the English title of “China raises stakes over disputed islands” to “China drives away Japanese patrol boats in the area of the Diaoyu Islands”¹⁸⁴. The English title described the geopolitics between China and Japan as a drama and China as an active role by matching China with a dramatic phrase “raise stakes”. The Chinese version, however, constructed a title stating an act without dramatic words¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁴ *Zhongguo quzhu Diaoyudao shuiyu de Riben xunluochuan*

¹⁸⁵ Other examples include “Japan risks China’s wrath over Senkaku”(*Zhongguo piping Riben goumai zhengyi daoyu*), “China steps up rhetoric on disputed islands” (*Zhongguo: Diaoyudao xingshi fasheng genbenxing bianhua*), and “Tokyo stands firm over disputed islands” (*Qianyuan chengsi: Riben wuyi zai lingtu zhuquan shang tuirang*).

In addition to changing from a dramatic style to an objective style, the FT Chinese also modified titles to avoid annoying its target readers. For instance, the FT Chinese changed the English title “China protests spur Japanese nationalists” to “Japanese right-wing groups behind Japan-China disputes”¹⁸⁶. The word “spur” in the English title indicates that Chinese protests should be blamed for Japanese nationalists’ demonstrations, which sound offensive to Chinese readers. Therefore, rather than link Japanese nationalists’ groups to the anti-Japan demonstrations in China, the FT Chinese defined the anti-China protests as the result of a diplomatic dispute.

Moreover, the change of the English title “Noda looks to ease China-Japan relations” to the Chinese version “Japanese ambassador’s vehicle attacked in Beijing”¹⁸⁷ illustrates how the FT Chinese modified its title according to the change of its focus. The English title focused on the Japanese Prime Minister’s political strategy, while the Chinese version concentrated on an attack. Later, this study will analyze how the FT Chinese transferred its core content.

Elimination of unnecessary information is a crucial modification for the FT Chinese as well. News relevance to its target readers is a motive for elimination. For instance, the English news story entitled “Nissan cuts forecast after China boycott” has three paragraphs in its closing part, tracing the influence of Japan’s home market on

¹⁸⁶ *Rizhong jiufen beihou de riben youyi*

¹⁸⁷ *Riben zhuhua dashi zuojia beijing yuxi*

Nissan and bringing in its forecast about its sales in Europe. The Chinese version¹⁸⁸, however, eliminated the closing part of the English news story as the information was not as relevant to Chinese consumers as the parts about Nissan's situation in China. Similarly, the Chinese version of the English news coverage "Japan to replace Beijing ambassador" eliminated the closing part of the original news story as these two paragraphs traced the frictions between Japan and South Korea, and the US. Hence, the Chinese version focuses exclusively on the relationship between Japan and China, which is more appealing to Chinese readers¹⁸⁹.

Other than news relevance, change of focus is also a motive for elimination. The modification made to the translation of the English news report "Noda looks to ease China-Japan relations"¹⁹⁰ is an example. The Chinese version eliminated the lead of the original report that reported on the Japanese government's efforts to smooth its relationship with China. Instead, the Chinese version put the first sentence of the original 3rd paragraph that briefed the attack on the Japanese ambassador's car in its leading position. Afterwards, the Chinese version removed the sixth original paragraph that viewed the Senkakus dispute. Through comparison, we can see that

¹⁸⁸ *Richan jiang quannian liren yuce xiatiao 20 %* (Nissan cuts full-year profit forecast by 20%)

¹⁸⁹ Other examples include "Japanese companies shut China factories" (*shushijia Riqi zaihua gongchang tinggong*), "China protests spur Japanese nationalists" (*Rizhong jiufen beihou de riben youyi*) and "Tokyo stands firm over disputed islands" (*qianyuan chengsi: riben wuyi zai lingtu zhuquan shang tuihang*).

¹⁹⁰ *Riben zhuhua dashi zuojia beijing yuxi* (Japanese ambassador's vehicle attacked in Beijing)

the English version focused on Japan's efforts to smooth Japan-China relationships, whereas the FT Chinese transferred the focus to the attack itself. Hence, a diplomatic news story is tailored to a crime story.

In addition, self-censorship is another cause for elimination of certain information. For instance, the English news coverage entitled "China steps up rhetoric on disputed islands" cited from an expert from MIT commenting on China's actions to several islands in South China Sea. These islands, according to the expert, were all "seized" from Vietnam in 1974 as a case of China "expansionist behaviour". This part was eliminated by the FT Chinese translated version entitled "China: the Diary Islands situation changed 'fundamentally'"¹⁹¹. The original part not only brought up the still sensitive topic of China-Vietnam War, but also defined China as an "expansionist", which can hardly be tolerated by the Chinese government. Therefore, the Chinese version's elimination of this part is highly likely to be a self-censorship decision.

The FT Chinese also added important background information in "Anti-Japan protests affect trade"¹⁹². The Chinese version added background information introducing that the China-Japan relationship started to construct "comprehensive cooperative partnership" since 2007 but the trading between the two could be harmed by the disputes, which was not mentioned in the original English report. In this way, the FT Chinese not only looked back at the deterioration of Sino-Japan relationship,

¹⁹¹ *Zhongguo: Diaoyudao zhengduan fasheng genbenxing bianhua*

¹⁹² *fanri shiwei boji Zhongri jingmao* (Fallout feared from islands protest)

but also reminded its readers of the honeymoon period of the two nations, providing a more comprehensive picture of the Sino-Japan relationship¹⁹³.

In addition to background information, the FT Chinese also added certain information to highlight a point. For example, the Chinese news report “Dispute over islands hit Japanese exports to China”¹⁹⁴ also added information to the English news report entitled “Japanese exports hit by China dispute”. The original English news report pointed out in its sixth paragraph that the dispute over the islands led to “mass anti-Japanese protests” in China. The Chinese version added that the dispute also caused “Chinese boycott against Japanese products”, stressing the economic influence of the dispute.

Considering the important role that photos played in framing the anti-Japan protests, this study also conducts a comparison between the photos adopted by the source-language (SL) news story and the target-language (TL) ones. The result shows that the two BBC online portals used identical photos in SL and TL news stories. The FT Chinese, however, modified the photos used in the original news stories.

The FT Chinese tended to avoid presenting violence through photos. As for dramatic photos, the FT Chinese adopted those with less tension. For instance, the English news story entitled “Fallout feared from islands protest” used a photo framing a

¹⁹³ Other examples include “Anti-Japanese protests sweep China” (*Zhongguo baofa dafanwei fanri kangyi*)

¹⁹⁴ *daoyu zhengduan daji Riben duihua chukou*

confrontation between civilians and military force (Figure 5.12). The FT Chinese, however, adopted another photo in the Chinese version¹⁹⁵. The photo creates a more relaxing atmosphere by presenting a small group of scattered protesters instead of lines of soldiers and half a dozen portraits of Mao Zedong.

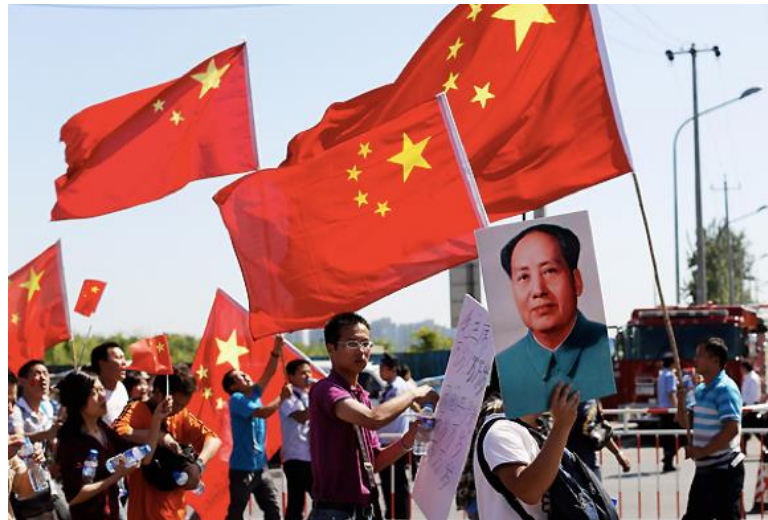


Figure 5.15 Anti-Japan protests affect Sino-Japan trade (*fanri shiwei boji Zhongri jingmao*)

In some cases, the FT Chinese even eliminated certain dramatic photos. The English news story entitled “Toyota to reduce China-bound production” adopted a photo of a seriously damaged Toyota car laid on its top (Figure 5.14). However, the FT Chinese

¹⁹⁵ “Anti-Japan protests affect Sino-Japan trade” (*fanri shiwei boji Zhongri jingmao*)

eliminated this photo in the TT¹⁹⁶.

In summary, BBC and the FT presented some common patterns in translation. For a start, elimination of unnecessary information is a modification frequently carried out by both BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese. The two Chinese online portals both eliminated information according to information relevance to Chinese readers and their abundant background information. Apart from consideration of the target readership, the FT Chinese also carried out elimination out of self-censorship reason.

Both BBC UK and the FT Chinese added information during the process of translation. However, their motivations are different. BBC UK added information to satisfy its British readers' news consumption needs, while the FT Chinese added information based on twofold reasons. In some cases, the FT Chinese intended to present more positive information concerning the Sino-Japan relationship to Chinese readers. In other cases, the FT Chinese tried to highlight certain points that the original news story did not pay enough attention to.

The two Chinese online portals have their own patterns as well. The change in the order of paragraphs is a modification that only BBC Chinese adopted. At the same time, change of titles is the FT Chinese's exclusive modification.

¹⁹⁶ "Toyota pressured to reduce production in China" (*Riben fengtian zaihua gongchang beipo jianchan*) Other examples include "Anti-Japanese protests sweep China" (*Zhongguo boafa dafanwei fanri kangyi*); "Japan to replace Beijing ambassador" (*Riben jiang genghuan Riben zhuhua dashi*).

In order to satisfy their target readers' news consumption habits, both BBC and the FT would derail from the track of the original news story. With modifications of the ST, the three online portals integrated their ideologies into the appearance that their readers could accept.

Chapter 6 Case Study III: MoYan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature

6.1. Mo Yan and His Nobel Prize for Literature

Mo Yan, which means “don’t speak”, is a pseudonym of Guan Moye. It is said that the pseudonym has its origins in advice his parents gave him as a school-age boy during the Mao Zedong era (Link, 2012). Mo Yan was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2012, and the Nobel Prize committee commented that Mo Yan is a writer who “with hallucinatory realism merges folk tales, history and the contemporary”¹⁹⁷.

Born in 1955 to parents who were farmers, Mo Yan grew up in Gaomi in Shandong Province in Northeastern China. The Cultural Revolution forced him to leave school at 12, and he went to work in the fields, completing his education in the army. He published his first book in 1981, but found literary success in 1987 with the *Red Sorghum* (*Hong Gao Liang*), a novel that was adapted into an internationally successful movie by director Zhang Yimou. As permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, Peter Englund commented on Mo Yan when announcing the win, that he focuses on writing “about the peasantry, about life in the countryside, about people

¹⁹⁷ Retrieved on 28 November 2016 from http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2012/yan-facts.html

struggling to survive, struggling for their dignity, sometimes winning but most of the time losing” (Flood, 2012).

The win is significant for China as it made Mo Yan “the first Chinese citizen to win the Nobel in its 111-year history” (Flood, 2012). Eight Chinese have won the Nobel Prizes in the natural sciences, but six of these were citizens of Western countries when they won their prizes, and the other two were citizens of Taiwan. Two Nobel Peace Prize winners are indeed Chinese citizens, but both of them are dissidents. One of the two, the Dalai Lama, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, has lived in exile since 1959. He has been called a “splittist” by the Chinese government for calling for greater autonomy within China which is to be pursued through non-violent means (Burke, 2008). The other, Liu Xiaobo, is frequently compared with Mo Yan because he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize just two years before Mo Yan. Hence, Liu was actually the first Chinese citizen that won a Nobel Prize. However, Liu did not have a chance to receive his award because he was in prison at the time, which was in sharp contrast to the official treatment of Mo Yan. Liu Xiaobo was a political activist, author, and once a university professor at Beijing Normal University. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010 for “standing up to the Chinese government and demanding political change”. Liu Xiaobo first came to public prominence in the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 having returned home from the United States to take part in the demonstrations. Although Liu chose to help persuade students to leave the square instead of facing down the army during the suppression, he was still jailed for nearly two years. In 1996 Liu was sent to labour camp for three years for criticizing China’s one-party political system. In 2009, Liu was sentenced to an 11-year prison sentence for “subverting state power”

after he helped write Charter 08, a manifesto calling for political reforms including a new constitution in China, an independent judiciary and freedom of expression, which was backed by about 300 academics, artists, lawyers and activists. Two days before Charter 08 was due to be published, the police made a late-night raid on Liu's home and took him away (Bristow, 2010).

In fact, Mo Yan is not the first Chinese Nobel literature laureate. In 2000, Chinese writer and playwright Gao Xingjian was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Gao Xingjian was born in 1940 in Jiangxi Province of Eastern China. He became a member of the Communist Party and renounced his party membership in 1989 following the Tiananmen Square incident. During the Cultural Revolution of 1966 – 1976, Gao had to destroy all his early writing and was sent to the country for “rehabilitation” (BBC, 2001). He continued to face censorship in China after the Cultural Revolution ended, with plays including *Bus Stop* and *the Other Shore* banned. In 1987 he moved to Paris and sought asylum as a political refugee. He became a French citizen in 1998 (Cheung, 2013). Gao has written 18 plays, four non-fiction titles and five novels. He has introduced avant-garde ideas from European theatre to Chinese audiences. Despite the fact that Gao was awarded the Nobel Prize for “an oeuvre of universal validity, bitter insights and linguistic ingenuity”, the first thing noted by both the western press and the Chinese language press was that Gao Xingjian is a Chinese writer and that he writes in Chinese (BBC, 2001).

However, Mo Yan was the first Nobel Prize laureate that Chinese government and official media recognized and welcomed. The Chinese government embraced his win with elation. According to the *New York Times's* report, a member of the nine-man

ruling Politburo, Li Changchun, immediately sent a letter to the state-sponsored Chinese Writers Association calling the prize “not only an embodiment of the flourishing progress of Chinese literature but also an embodiment of the continuing rise in the overall strength of our state and its international influence.” Chinese state-run media also celebrated the news enthusiastically (Link, 2012), and some western researchers in literature also spoke highly of Mo Yan’s accomplishment in literature (Flood, 2012). At the same time, however, “a storm of controversy welled on the Chinese-language Internet both inside and outside China”. The focus of the controversy is on whether a writer who is inside the system of an authoritarian government that imprisons other dissident writers, such as Liu Xiaobo, for example, deserves the Nobel Prize (Link, 2012). In addition, some intellectuals criticized Mo Yan fiercely for his political acts.

As the biggest news event in the field of Chinese culture, and even one of the biggest news in China, Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize was analyzed as a sample of BBC’s and the FT’s cultural reporting styles.

6.2.Content Analysis of the news stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize

This study carried out quantitative measurement of the four online portals’ coverage of Mo Yan being awarded the Nobel Prize with the behaviourist approach of content analysis. Similar to the analysis of the previous cases, this study targets the news reports and commentaries of the four online portals.

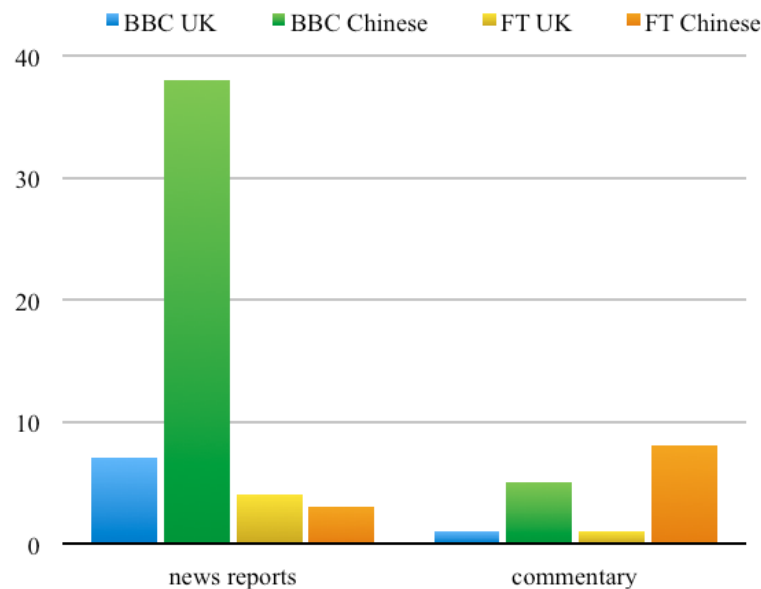


Figure 6.1 Numbers of news reports and commentaries on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature

The graph shows that the two BBC online portals surpassed the two FT online portals in the number of reports. Specifically speaking, BBC Chinese outnumbered the other three online portals in the number of news reports by a huge margin. BBC Chinese produced 38 news reports, more than five times BBC UK's seven news reports, almost ten times the FT UK's four and nearly 13 times those of the FT Chinese's three. The bars of the commentaries present a pattern different from that of the earlier two cases. The earlier two cases showed that the two FT online portals outnumbered the two BBC online portals in commentaries. However, the data of this case illustrated a consistency between the two online portals using the same language, which means that the two Chinese online portals surpassed the two English ones in the number of commentaries. What is consistent with the earlier two cases was that the FT Chinese produced the highest number of commentaries (eight). The second highest was BBC Chinese which produced five commentaries. The two

English portals both produced just one commentary.

With regard to the total number of news reports and commentaries, the data presented a pattern similar to the one illustrated through the commentaries. The two Chinese online portals outnumbered the two English in the total numbers. BBC Chinese produced the most news texts totalling 44 reports, followed by the FT Chinese with 11. BBC UK produced nine news texts, while the FT UK produced the fewest with a total of five. The gap between BBC Chinese and the other three online portals was wide. The number of BBC Chinese news texts was almost nine times that of the FT UK and nearly five times that of BBC UK. Even the second highest, the FT Chinese, was only one quarter of the number of BBC Chinese.

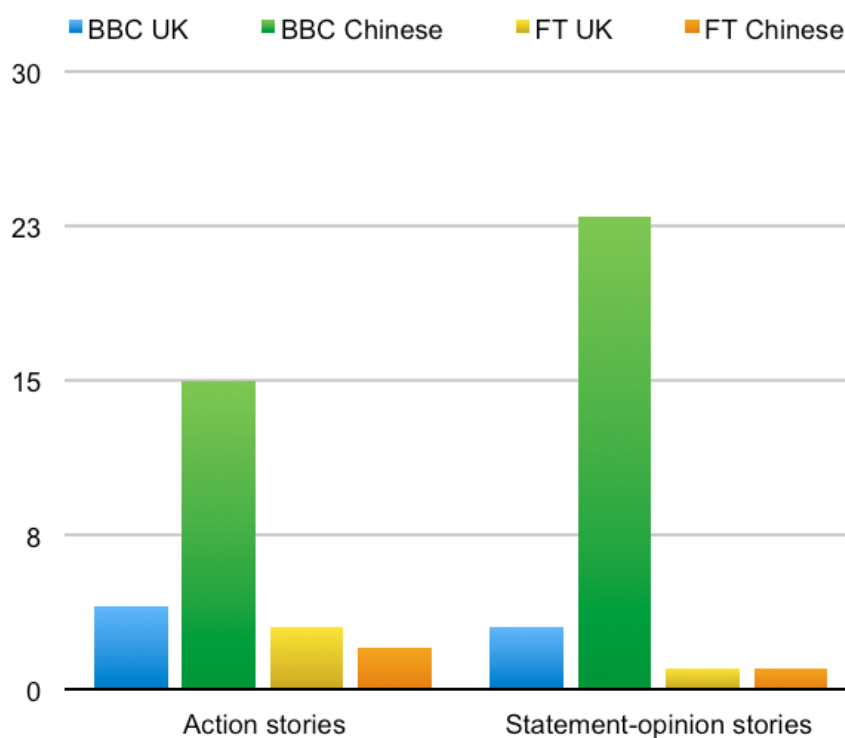


Figure 6.2 Numbers of action stories and statement-opinion stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature

As for the two genres of news reports, BBC Chinese presented a pattern different from the other three. Ideologies related to Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature from external sources played an auxiliary role for the two FT online portals and BBC UK as they produced more action stories than statement-opinion stories. BBC Chinese reported the other way around. It produced more than the other three online portals in both action stories and statement-opinion stories. BBC Chinese produced 15 action stories, followed by its British headquarters' four, the FT UK's three, and the FT Chinese's two. In terms of statement-opinion stories, BBC Chinese also surpassed the other three. BBC Chinese produced 23 news stories, which is almost eight times the number of its British headquarters' three. The two FT online portals only produced one news story of this genre.

This study divides the themes of all the news reports on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize into seven categories: Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize, politics, economy, media, art, society and international. The first category covers the news of Mo Yan being awarded the Nobel Prize and the activities involved in his win. The issue of the politics refers to the news reports on political significance of the news event, including reactions to the event from politicians. The issue of the economy concerns the economic influence of the event. As for the issue of the media, it refers to reaction toward the news from external news media organizations. The issue of international refers to the reactions from overseas to Mo Yan's Nobel Prize. The issue of art points to the artistic and literary value of Mo Yan and the significance of his Nobel Prize in the aspects of art and literature. The last category refers to Chinese society's reaction to the event.

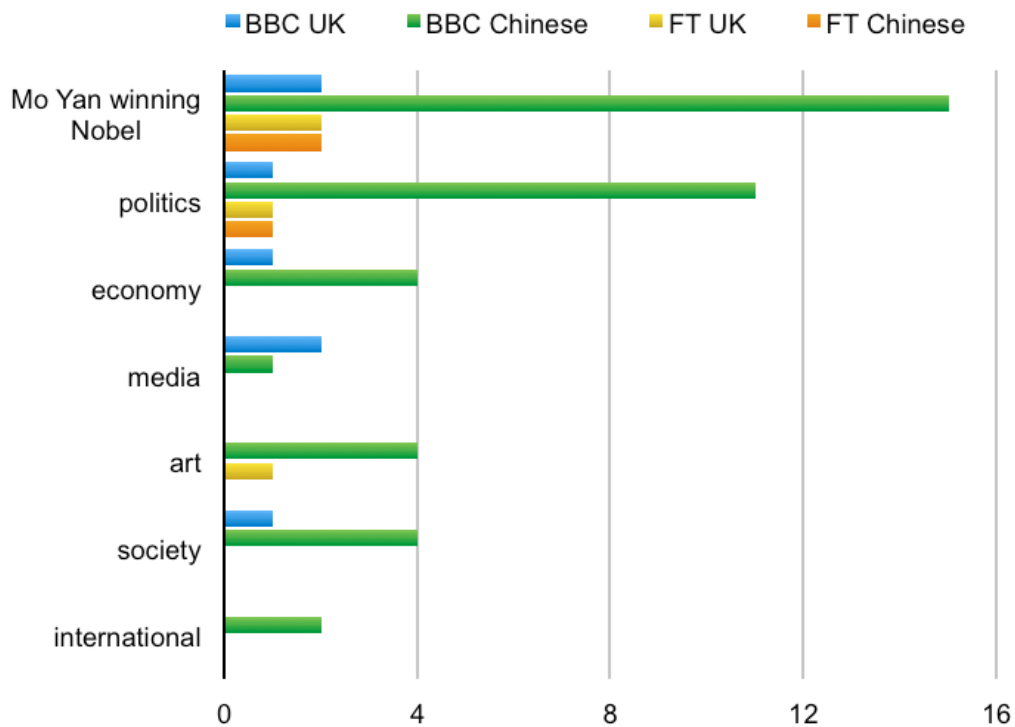


Figure 6.3 Issues under Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature

The chart indicates that all of the four online portals paid most of their attention to the news of Mo Yan being awarded the Nobel Prize and the details of the award ceremony. Among the four, BBC Chinese contributed the most news reports. BBC Chinese produced 15 news reports on this issue, while the other three all produced two. Besides this issue, the issue of the media was also the most reported one for BBC UK as it produced two news reports on the issue of media as well. In addition, the issue of politics was the second most popular one for all of the four online portals. Similar to the most popular issue, the gap between BBC Chinese and the other three online portals was wide in terms of the quantity of news reports on the issue of politics. BBC Chinese produced 11 news reports on this issue, while each of the other three produced just one news story.

Apart from the two most popular issues, the four online portals showed different patterns on other issues. The two issues above were the only issues that the FT Chinese covered, while the FT UK reported just one more issue of art than the FT Chinese. With regard to BBC UK, the issues of art and international were blank fields. BBC Chinese, at the same time, covered all of the seven issues. Among the seven issues, the issue of media was the least concerned issue for BBC Chinese as it just produced one news story with this theme.

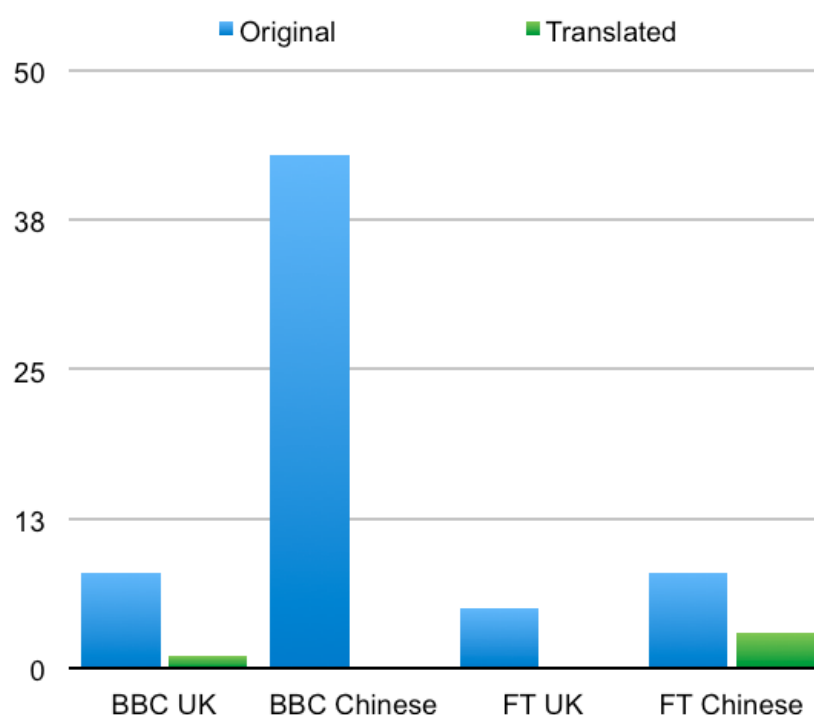


Figure 6.4 Quantitative comparisons between original and translated articles (news reports and commentaries)

The graph illustrates a pattern similar to the two earlier cases. The translation between the two FT online portals worked one way exclusively, which was from English to Chinese. All of the news reports of the FT Chinese were translated from their English versions. However, in this case, all of the commentaries of the FT

Chinese were original Chinese works. As for the two BBC online portals, they still worked independently from each other as all of their news stories were their original works.

6.3.Framing Analysis of the news stories on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize

The four online portals have two groups of frames: episodic frame and thematic frame. In the case of Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for literature, episodic frames cover the declaration of Mo Yan winning the award to the details of the ceremony. Similar to the case of the anti-Japan wave, the news stories concerning responses to Mo Yan's Nobel Prize and its influences are categorized as thematic frames by this study.

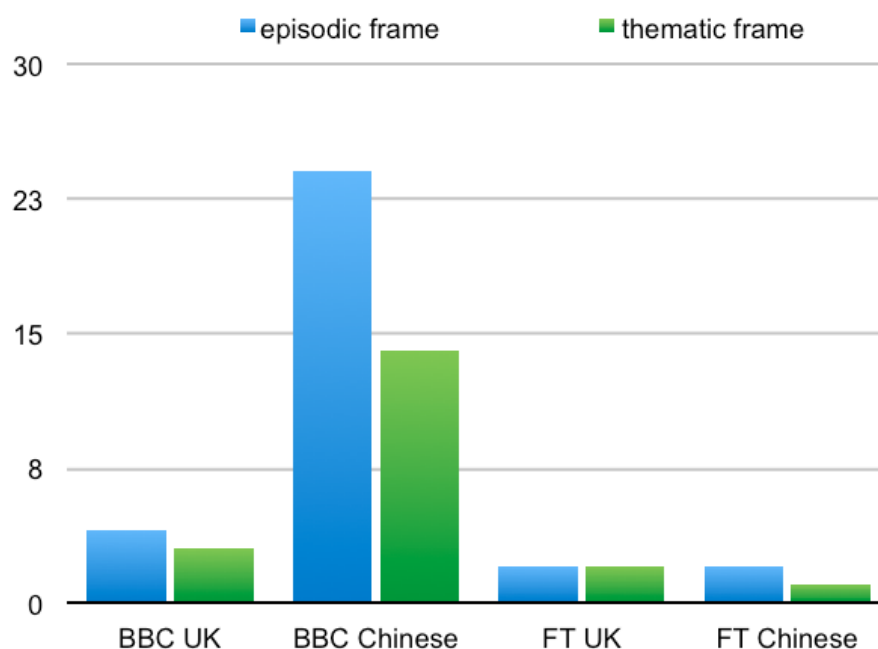


Figure 6.5 Overarching frames of news coverage adopted by the four online portals

The graph shows that except for the FT UK, episodic frames outnumber thematic frames in the other three online portals. The FT UK, at the same time, keeps a balance between the two frames (2:2). The gap between the two frames of BBC Chinese is the widest among the three online portals, as 24 of its news stories are episodic frames and 14 are thematic frames. Episodic frames of the other two online portals both outnumber thematic ones by just one news story. BBC UK has four episodic frames and three thematic frames, while the numbers for the FT Chinese are two and one.

Like the two earlier cases, this study investigates the application of the framing devices of rhetoric structure and thematic structure to the news stories. Considering the small number of news stories in this case, this study selected analyzing samples in a different way from in the two earlier cases. When analyzing BBC UK and the FT UK, this study examines all of their news stories. When it comes to BBC Chinese, however, this study still uses the same selection standards as the two previous cases due to its larger number of news stories.

6.4.BBC UK's news coverage

Reaction to Mo Yan's Nobel Prize in terms of his political nature is the topic most frequently raised by BBC UK. BBC UK relied on the framing device of thematic structure with regard to this topic. The framing device of rhetorical structure also assisted the shaping of the framing process. However, rhetorical structure here does not refer to wording, but the rhetorical device of comparison that structures the observations or quotations in a specific way.

“Chinese author Mo Yan hopes for Liu Xiaobo release” illustrates this pattern. For a start, the news story observed that “some commentators have contrasted it with Beijing’s anger at Mr. Liu’s award two years ago, while Mo Yan has faced claims from dissidents that he is too pro-establishment”, highlighting the Chinese government’s different attitudes toward Mo and Liu. Then an observation about Liu being prisoned after “calling for democratic reform” defines Liu as one of “us” because this name equals “democracy”. The fact that Liu was punished by the Chinese government pushes the government to the “other side”, or the “evil”. Hence, Mo Yan, who was praised by the Chinese government, also belongs to “them”, not “us”. This is the mode of logic adopted by not only those criticizing Mo, but by BBC UK as well. BBC UK quoted the congratulation of the Communist Party’s top propaganda official, Li Changchun, saying that Mo’s winning reflected “flourishing improvements of Chinese literature”. Next to this, BBC UK quoted the dissident artist Ai Weiwei’s criticism that Mo “will always stand on the side of power”. The contrast made the controversial political nature of Mo salient. After quoting Mo’s attitude toward Liu, BBC UK pointed out that the pen name Mo Yan means “don’t speak” in Chinese, indicating Mo’s fear of political pressure.

“Mo Yan’s Nobel literature prize draws mixed reactions” even constructed a multi-layer contrast through thematic structure. For a start, BBC UK contrasted Chinese media’s “effusive” response to Mo’s award to the “angry tirade” against Liu winning the prize in 2010. BBC UK not only observed the contrast, but also used dramatic wording (effusive; angry tirade) of rhetorical structure to highlight the contrast. At the same time, BBC UK also mentioned the Chinese media’s reaction to Chinese-

born French citizen Gao Xingjian's Nobel Prize in 2000 that "it took a few days for the state media to respond". For the second-layer comparison, BBC UK compared what the two Nobel Prize winners encountered after winning the award by quoting Hong Kong newspaper the *South China Morning Post* saying that "some Internet users had contrasted Mo Yan's win with that of Liu Xiaobo, who was represented by an empty chair at the Nobel prize-giving ceremony". To stress the contrast, BBC UK added a quotation from a *Weibo* user that "Two Chinese citizens have won the Nobel Prizes, one is 'Shut Up and the other has been shut up'". The former "shut up" refers to the meaning of the pseudonym of Mo Yan. For the third-layer comparison, BBC UK observed that: "Chinese writers and activists interviewed by overseas-based media were divided on Mo's win. Many figures have congratulated Mo, while others see his award as a mistake". BBC UK solely quoted two criticisms on Mo's award, both mentioning Liu Xiaobo. One of the criticisms came from the dissident artist Ai Weiwei because "Mo's win would not help Liu Xiaobo to be freed from prison because Mo had remained silent on the issue". The other came from the exiled writer Yu Jie who said that:

"I am worried that the government will use Mo Yan's prize win to set off a new round of nationalism to offset to some extent the Chinese people's yearning and desire for democracy and freedom brought by Liu Xiaobo winning the prize two years ago."

However, BBC UK did not quote any congratulations from Chinese writers and activists. The three layers of contrast all focus on politics, but the angles are various. As a brief piece of news reporting, "Chinese reaction to Mo Yan's Nobel literature prize" also contrasted its observation of Chinese people celebrating Mo Yan's Nobel Prize with the observation of some critics which questioned Mo's links to the

government.

As a sub-topic developing from the political acts of Mo Yan, his attitude toward Liu Xiaobo is a theme that BBC UK paid attention to. In the process of framing, the framing device of thematic structure is applied. “Chinese author Mo Yan hopes for Liu Xiaobo release” quoted Mo Yan’s speech to journalists: “I hope he can gain freedom as early as possible”, illustrating Mo’s attitude to Liu. At the same time, the story also cited from Mo that he “had read Mr. Liu’s early literary work but did not understand his later political works”. This quotation highlights Mo’s cautious comment on political issues.

The literary style of Mo Yan is another theme framed by BBC UK. The framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation was applied frequently to this theme.

“Chinese author Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize for Literature” firstly quoted the Swedish Academy’s praise of Mo Yan’s work--“with hallucinatory realism merges folk tales, history and the contemporary”, highlighting Mo’s literary style. Plus, the story quoted the head of the Academy’s comment that Mo Yan “has such a unique way of writing. If you read half a page of Mo Yan you immediately recognise it as him”, making the uniqueness of Mo’s style salient. To stress this point, the story later cited from a professor of Chinese at the University of London that “He has a very impressive oeuvre...He has a large readership and he addresses the human condition in a way which the Nobel Committee likes to see.” The “Beginners’ guide to Mo Yan” selectively cited from a lecture of Michel Hockx, Professor of Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, part of the University of London, to provide

a literary overview of Mo Yan.

6.5.BBC Chinese's news coverage

Responses from various fields to Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature is the topic most frequently framed by BBC Chinese. To frame this issue, the framing device of thematic structure in the form of quotation is applied by BBC Chinese.

BBC Chinese framed two types of attitudes: congratulation to Mo and criticism of Mo. As for the congratulations, BBC Chinese produced three news stories that focus on praising Mo. In “China’s Writers’ Association: Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize is a good thing for the field of literature”¹⁹⁸¹⁹⁹, BBC Chinese cited from China’s National Television which quoted from the Secretary of the China’s Writers’ Association Secretariat saying that “We’re very happy for Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature, which is a good thing for Chinese literature. Congratulations to him!”²⁰⁰ In addition to Chinese official voices, BBC Chinese also paid close attention to voices from the UK. Hence, BBC Chinese quoted three British experts in Chinese literature, who spoke highly of Mo’s literary style, in “British experts praise Mo Yan

¹⁹⁸ *Zhongguo zuoxie: Mo Yan huojiang shi wenxuejie xishi*

¹⁹⁹ Another example is “Li Changchun congratulates Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize in Literature” (*Li Changchun zhuhe Mo Yan huo Nuobeier wenxuejiang*)

²⁰⁰ “*Mo Yan huode Nuobeier wenxuejiang, gandao tebie gaoxing, zhe yeshi Zhongguo wenxuejie de yijian xishi, duita benren biaoshi relie de zhuhe*”.

winning Nobel Prize”²⁰¹.

As for the critical voices, BBC Chinese also produced three news stories. In “Liao Yiwu calls Mo Yan a writer employed by the emperor”²⁰², BBC Chinese quoted *Der Spiegel* which interviewed Liao Yiwu who said that he was “shocked by Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize”²⁰³. He also claimed that “Mo Yan is close to Chinese authority”²⁰⁴ and his friends in China asked him “whether the west regards itself as an extension of China’s regime”²⁰⁵²⁰⁶. Liao Yiwu is a Chinese writer and a poet. During the 1980s, Liao Yiwu regularly published poems in official Chinese literary magazines. He published his other poems in underground anthologies and periodicals. In 1989, after the publication of two of his poems, “The Yellow City” and “Hero”--both of which criticized China’s political system, Liao was brought in several times for interrogation (Friedenspreis). Liao was incarcerated for four years due to his poem “Massacre”--a memorial of the people killed on June 4, 1989 (Buruma, 2013). In 2003, Liao was awarded a Human Rights Watch Hellman-Hammett grant, and in 2007, he received a Freedom to Write Award from the Independent Chinese PEN Centre (the *Huffington Post*). In 2011, Liao fled China

²⁰¹ *Ying zhuanjia zanyu Mo Yan huode Nuobeier wenxuejiang*

²⁰² *Liao Yiwu zhi Mo Yan shi yuyong wenren*

²⁰³ “*Mo Yan huojian lingta gandao zhenjing*”

²⁰⁴ “*Mo Yan yu Zhonggong zhengquan guanxi miqie*”

²⁰⁵ “*shifou xifang jiang ziji shiwei Zhongguo zhengquan de yanshen*”

²⁰⁶ Other examples include “Wei Jingsheng criticizes Swedish Academy for awarding Mo Yan the Nobel Prize” (*Wei Jingsheng piping Ruidian xueyuan ban Nuojian gei Mo Yan*) and “Wei Jingsheng criticizes Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize” (*Wei Jingsheng piping Mo Yan huoban Nuobeier wenxuejiang*)

and settled in Berlin (Johnson, 2011).

Other than the news story focusing on one kind of attitude, BBC Chinese also adopted the rhetorical device of contrast to frame the controversy of Mo Yan in terms of his political acts in some news stories.

The news story entitled “Chinese social networks focus on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize”²⁰⁷ is a good example. For a start, BBC Chinese quoted four internet users who praised Mo Yan from the angle of literature. Later, BBC Chinese constructed a twofold contrast. In the first fold, BBC Chinese contrasted the congratulations with doubts about the standard of the Nobel Prizes. BBC Chinese quoted three internet users on this point. For the second fold, BBC Chinese contrasted the congratulations with criticisms on Mo Yan’s political nature. BBC Chinese quoted three netizens and one interviewee on this point. Two quotations focused on Mo Yan’s obedience to Chinese authority, while the other two concentrated on the absence of Liu Xiaobo at the earlier awarding ceremony²⁰⁸. BBC Chinese also set up a twofold comparison among media’s comments in “China overview: Mo Yan receives the Nobel Prize”²⁰⁹. In the first-fold contrast, BBC Chinese conducted a contrast between the newspapers of Mainland China and Hong Kong’s newspapers, in terms of their attitudes towards Mo’s award. For a start, BBC

²⁰⁷ *Zhongguo shejiao wangzhan jujiao Mo Yan huo Nuobeier jiang*

²⁰⁸ Another example is “Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize, peers’ attitudes vary” (*Mo Yan huo Nuobeier jiang tonghang baobian buyi*).

²⁰⁹ *Zhongguo baozhai: Mo Yan huoban Nuobeier jiang*

Chinese quoted a commentary in the domestic edition of the *People's Daily* saying that "A literature prize that has so much tradition and international influence made him a global focus. One can imagine how excited he is. Congratulations, Mo Yan!"²¹⁰, highlighting Chinese state-run media's passionate praise. In contrast, BBC Chinese observed that "Most newspapers in Hong Kong also lead with the victory, but tackle controversies too."²¹¹ Then the news story quoted critical comments from the *Sing Tao Daily*, the *South China Morning Post* and the *Ming Pao Daily News*. In the second-fold contrast, BBC Chinese compared between two types of voices of the Mainland's newspapers. In this case, BBC Chinese compared the *People's Daily's* enthusiasm with the caution of the *Shanghai Morning Post* and the *Beijing News* which asked the public "not to be over-excited"²¹² because "people should work on enhancing Chinese literature"²¹³. The twofold contrasts have different focuses as the first-fold focuses on politics, while the second pays attention to literature. The news coverage entitled "British experts praise Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize" also applied the rhetorical device of contrast as it quoted both the criticism on Mo Yan from Ai Weiwei and the praises of Mo Yan from some British academies.

²¹⁰ "Yige you chuantong he guoji yingxiang de wenxue jiangxiang rang ta pianke chengwei shijie muguang de jiaodian, keyi xiangxiang Mo Yan de jidong xinqing, gongxi Mo Yan!"

²¹¹ "Xianggang baozhang ye duoyi dapianfu baodao Mo Yan huojian de xiaoxi, qie tongshi baodaole qi zhengyi zhichu".

²¹² "buyao guodu xingfen"

²¹³ "nuli fuxing Zhongguo wenyi"

In addition to responses to Mo's award in the Chinese world, BBC Chinese also framed other countries' complicated attitudes with the framing device of thematic structure.

As Japanese writer Haruki Murakami was a rival of Mo Yan for the 2012 Nobel Literature Prize, Japan's response caught BBC Chinese's attention. In "Japan views Mo Yan winning the prize: pity, contradiction, fear"²¹⁴, BBC Chinese adopted both the forms of observation and quotation to frame the attitudes towards Mo Yan's Nobel Prize from Japanese society. For a start, BBC Chinese observed that a bookstore in Tokyo prepared one big advertising board congratulating Murakami and a small board saying translation of Mo Yan's works would come soon. After hearing the news of Mo winning the Nobel Prize, a clerk expressed her sorrow for Murakami but made a call to the publisher to add orders for Mo's works. The observation frames ordinary Japanese people's attitudes: being pity but still interested in Mo's works because of the Nobel Prize winner's title. Then BBC Chinese combined observation and quotation to frame the Japanese media's attitudes towards Mo, highlighting the Japanese positive comment on Mo. In the meantime, BBC Chinese also observed Japanese media's attention to the political controversy around Mo. The news story entitled "Mo Yan's award gains controversy: Chinese world and Swedish politics" adopted a similar framing pattern to illustrate Sweden's response to Mo's

²¹⁴ *Ribenren kan Mo Yan huojia: yihan, maodun, kongju*

award, making it salient that ordinary Swedish people have little knowledge of the political controversy around Mo.

Beyond the attitudes towards Mo's Nobel Prize, BBC Chinese also shed light on how to view Mo Yan's Nobel Prize. When framing this theme, BBC Chinese relied on thematic structure in the form of quotation.

In "Long Yingtai: Mo Yan winning the award should not consider political factors"²¹⁵, BBC Chinese quoted Long Yingtai, the first Culture Minister of Taiwan and a writer, from its interview with Long. Long Yingtai is a Taiwan-born writer and cultural critic who is famous for her sharp and candid writing (Yu, 2009). Long's critical writings were considered to have greatly contributed to the democratisation of Taiwan in the 1980s. Long was the first cultural minister of Taipei from 1999 to 2003. For a start, BBC Chinese quoted Long's comment that "when we view Chinese writer Mo Yan winning this year's Nobel Prize, we should not have too much political consideration."²¹⁶, highlighting the appeal for purely literary standards. To make this point salient, BBC Chinese added that "Long Yingtai appeals for maximum tolerant space and tolerant culture, rather than requiring

²¹⁵ *Long Yingtai: Mo Yan huojia buying kaolv zhengzhi yinsu*

²¹⁶ "kan Zhongguo zuojia Mo Yan huode jinnian de Nuobeier wenxuejiang yishi, buyinggai you taiduo de zhengzhi kaoliang".

everyone to work in the same pattern and make the same choice”²¹⁷.

Mo Yan’s part in the Nobel Prize awards ceremony is another frequently framed topic. BBC Chinese covered the ceremony from start to finish. BBC Chinese relied on the framing device of thematic structure to frame this topic as well. “Nobel Prize award ceremony ends and Mo Yan receives the prize in literature”²¹⁸ adopted the thematic structure in the form of observation. The story observed the procedure of the ceremony from the starting music to the time of Mo Yan getting on the stage²¹⁹.

Apart from observation of details of the awards ceremony, BBC Chinese also framed the controversy around Mo Yan’s Nobel Prize. “Mo Yan receives the prize in literature, Chinese artists protest outside”²²⁰ framed a contrast that “Chinese writer Mo Yan and the other eight Nobel Prize winners receive golden medals, certificates, and rewards. Chinese artists stood outside in protest.”²²¹, making the political controversy about Mo salient. Later, the story constructed a comparison of two sets

²¹⁷ “Long Yingtai huyu zui kuanda de kongjian he zui kuanrong de wenhua, er bushi yaoqiu meigeren doushi tongge moshi, tongzhong xuanze”.

²¹⁸ Nuobeier banjiang dianli jieshu Mo Yan lingqu wenxuejiang

²¹⁹ Other examples include “Mo Yan especially thanks his Shandong folks in the banquet speech” (*Mo Yan wanyan zhici tebie ganxie Shandong xiangqin*), “Nobel Prize awarding ceremony near at hand, Mo Yan will receive the prize in literature” (*Nuobeier jiang banjiang yishi zaiji Mo Yan jiang lingqu wenxuejiang*), “Mo Yan receives the Nobel Prize in literature” (*Mo Yan lingqu Nuobeier wenxuejiang*), and “Mo Yan goes to Sweden for the Nobel Prize” (*Mo Yan fu Ruidian lingqu nuobeier jiang*)

²²⁰ *Mo Yan lingqu wenxuejiang changwai Zhongguo yishujia kangyi*

²²¹ “Zhongguo zuojia Mo Yan ji qita baming nuobeier jiang huojiangzhe shangtai lingqu le jinzhi jiangzhang zhengshu he jiangjin. Changwai Zhongguo yishujia luoben kangyi”.

of observation. One set of observation framed the congratulatory force at the scene. However, BBC Chinese quoted a Chinese student who said that “it was the relevant department of the embassy that organized them to celebrate”²²², weakening the credibility of the congratulatory acts. The other set of observation framed a Chinese dissident artist and a dissident writer’s protest against Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize. The absence of Liu Xiaobo in 2010 Nobel Prize awarding ceremony was their motive²²³.

Mo Yan’s own comments on being awarded the Nobel Prize is also an important topic framed by BBC Chinese. BBC Chinese adopted the thematic structure in the form of quotation from Mo Yan on this topic. “Mo Yan: feeling lucky to win, not regarding it as extraordinary”²²⁴ quoted Mo’s words in China’s National Television’s interview with him that “for a writer, the most important thing is work, not awards”, among other quotations in Mo which stressed the insignificance of his award. The quotations highlighted Mo’s humble attitude towards the award²²⁵.

Compared to Mo’s attitude towards the Nobel Prize, BBC Chinese paid more attention to his response to the political controversy against him. Quotation was still the framing device that BBC Chinese used. “Mo Yan rejects criticism and claims

²²² “*shiguan youguan bumen zuzhi tamen qianlai qingzhu*”.

²²³ Another example is “Mo Yan tells his own story in the Nobel literature lecture” (*Mo Yan nuobeier wenxue jianhgzuo shuo ziji de gushi*)

²²⁴ *Mo Yan: huojiang gan xingyun buhui dangzuo liaobuqi*

²²⁵ Another example is “Mo Yan returns to Beijing, saying not dare to claim himself a master” (*Mo Yan fanhui Beijing biaooshi bugan cheng dashi*)

literature prize is not about politics”²²⁶ quoted Mo Yan’s talk in a press conference where he said that “the criticisms make no sense”²²⁷, “This is a literature award rather than a political one”²²⁸ and “a writer does not serve a party”²²⁹. These quotations highlighted Mo’s efforts to clear himself from politics. However, the story still linked him to politics by quoting his comment on Liu Xiaobo that “the imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize winner Liu Xiaobo could gain freedom as soon as possible”²³⁰, highlighting the connection between Mo Yan and Liu Xiaobo.

In fact, Mo Yan’s attitude towards Liu is a topic that BBC Chinese was concerned about. In “Mo Yan does not state his position with regard to the joint letter requiring release of Liu Xiaobo”²³¹, BBC Chinese quoted Mo’s answer to a Taiwanese journalist’s question about the joint letter saying that “I always like being alone. If I’m forced to show my position, I wouldn’t show it, which has always been my attitude for decades.”²³². The quotation highlights Mo’s efforts to keep himself clear of political issues²³³. “Mo Yan: wish Liu Xiaobo to be freed as soon as possible”²³⁴, on the other hand, quoted Mo Yan’s statement to journalists that he wished Liu to be

²²⁶ *Mo Yan fanbo piping cheng wenxuejiang fei zhengzhi*

²²⁷ *“piping wu daoli”*

²²⁸ *“zheshi wenxuejiang er bushi zhengzhi jiangxiang”*

²²⁹ *“zuojia bushi wei dangpai fuwu”*

²³⁰ *“zaiqiu de Nuobeier hepingjiang huodezhe Liu Xiaobo neng jinzhao huode ziyou.”*

²³¹ *Mo Yan dui yaoqiu shifang Liu Xiaobo lianmingxin bu biaotai*

²³² *“wo yiguan xihuan dulai duwang, biwo biaotai, wo buhui biaotai, zheshi wo jishinian de yiguan taidu.”*

²³³ Another example is “Mo Yan refuses to mention Liu Xiaobo again facing questions” (*Mo Yan maindui zhuiwen juju chongti Liu Xiaobo*)

²³⁴ *Mo Yan: xiwang Liu Xiaobo jinkuai huode ziyou*

freed as soon as possible. However, the story also made Mo's cautious character salient by quoting the division between Liu's literary works and his political acts.

6.6.FT UK's news coverage

The FT UK only produced two original news stories²³⁵ on Mo Yan's case, both emphasizing the political issues around Mo.

First of all, the FT UK framed Mo's political acts through thematic structure in the form of observation. Both stories observed two controversial acts of Mo: his boycott of the Frankfurt Book fair due to the attendance of Chinese dissident writers in 2010 and his organisation of fellow writers to commemorate and praise cultural policies launched by Mao Zedong in the mid-1940s that were later used to imprison countless intellectuals. The observation highlighted Mo's acts that supported the central government's censorship on literature, which portrayed Mo as a negative role. Second, the FT UK adopted the rhetorical device of contrast to compare the observation of different official treatments to three Chinese national Nobel Prize winners: Mo Yan, Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian. Both stories compared the wide celebration of Mo's award across the country with Chinese media's silence on the other two's awards when they were announced, not to mention the imprisonment of Liu. Both stories observed that many Chinese netizens believed Mo to be the first

²³⁵ "Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature" and "Wealthy writer draws from humble start"

Chinese ever to win a Nobel Prize, making the Chinese government's censorship on dissidents salient. When narrating this example, the FT UK adopted rhetorical structure through dramatic wording. The FT UK used the word "dictator" to describe Mao Zedong and the word "purge" to describe Mao's cultural policies. The inclusion of the negative portrait of Mao reflects negatively on Mao, as he supported Mao. Third, the FT UK stressed Mo's identity so as to frame his political nature. Both stories pointed out that Mo is a Communist Party member and former soldier in the People's Liberation Army. Besides, his position as China Writers' Association vice-chairman means that Mo "holds a semi-official role in the Chinese political system".

All these three aspects of Mo Yan have become reasons for attacking him. The FT UK framed Chinese social media's response to Mo's award as it quoted only criticisms on Mo in "Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature". One *Weibo* user was quoted as saying: "In China, what should you do if you want to win a Nobel Prize? Be silent." The FT UK quoted two other similar quotations. In the same news story, the FT UK also quoted positive comments on Mo which viewed him from a literary angle. The FT UK quoted Peter Englund, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, who said that Mo offered an "inside" view of Chinese society and described him as "a mixture between Faulkner, Rabelais and Dickens".

6.7. Comparison between the four online portals' framing patterns

When framing Mo Yan's Nobel Prize, BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK all relied on the framing device of thematic structure. Rhetorical structure of contrast

was adopted to structure the observations and quotations.

Political controversy about Mo Yan is the most frequently framed theme for all three online portals. The three online portals mainly constructed twofold contrasts to frame this issue, including a contrast between the Chinese government's attitudes to Gao Xingjian, Liu Xiaobo, and to Mo Yan, and one which both criticised Mo Yan and praised him. The three online portals highlighted that the Chinese government adopted different attitudes based on ideological standards. The three online portals made it salient that Mo's award was celebrated by the official voices because unlike the other two Nobel Prize winners, he is not a dissident. Hence, Mo Yan, for the Chinese government, is one of "us". In the framing process, the three online portals actually did the same thing by drawing a dividing line between "us" and "them". "We" represented democracy and humanity, while "they", in this case, represented the Chinese government symbolizing dictatorship and injustice. To frame the "evil" image of "them", the three online portals frequently brought up the imprisonment of dissident Liu in most of their news stories. The FT UK went even further as it adopted rhetorical structure to link the dramatic words of "dictator", "purge" and "censorship" to the Chinese government²³⁶. Thus, those who disagreed with or fought against the Chinese government were regarded as members of "us", while those who did not voice a disagreement belonged to "them". Therefore, the three

²³⁶ "Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature" and "Wealthy writer draws from humble start".

online portals adopted a sympathetic tone when mentioning about Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian. For example, in the case of the news report entitled “Wealthy writer draws from humble start” of the FT UK, the news report framed Liu Xiaobo’s act as “peaceful political activism”. The doubts over Mo Yan were raised in each news report, however, no single line questioned whether Liu or Gao was worthy of the Nobel Prize, not to mention any critical message towards these two dissidents. In contrast, Mo Yan was treated as a member of “them” because he was a member of the Communist Party and a writer within the Chinese Communist Party system. Therefore, doubts about him and criticisms were frequently raised by the three online portals. Despite the fact that Mo Yan won the Nobel Prize in literature, not in peace, the three online portals paid much more attention to his political acts than to his literary skills. Apart from two news stories of BBC UK concentrating on the literary style of Mo Yan²³⁷, none of the other news reports of the three online portals conducted literary criticism on Mo Yan’s works of literature. Mo Yan’s acts that supported the government were brought up as examples of stains on him. His works and words that questioned the government were cited as proof that he was worthy of the Nobel Prize²³⁸. Hence, being pro-government or anti-government became the standard by which to decide who should be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

²³⁷ “Chinese author Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize for literature” and “Beginners’ guide to Mo Yan”

²³⁸ Examples include “Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature” and “Chinese author Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize for Literature”

6.8. Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals

BBC UK translated one news story from BBC Chinese²³⁹, while the latter translated none from the former. When translating from BBC Chinese, adding information is the modification adopted by BBC UK. In the English version, BBC UK added several newspapers' reports on other news events in that week while the original Chinese version stuck to Mo Yan's award. The adding of this information relates to the needs of the target readership. As the news relevance of Mo Yan to British readers is much less than that to Chinese readers, BBC UK provided brief reports on a series of key events in China.

As for the FT, however, elimination of information is the most prominent modification during the translation of the FT Chinese.

The Chinese news report entitled "Mo Yan wins Nobel Literature Prize"²⁴⁰ eliminated almost half of the original English news report²⁴¹, all of which involved the controversial past of Mo Yan. The English news story mocked the pseudonym of Mo Yan in its sixth paragraph, whereas the Chinese version eliminated this part. Plus, the FT Chinese eliminated two paragraphs introducing Mo Yan's boycott of the

²³⁹ *Zhongguo baozhai: Mo Yan huoban nuobeier jiang* (China morning round-up: Nobel Literature Prize to China)

²⁴⁰ *Mo Yan huo nuobeier wenxuejiang*

²⁴¹ Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature

Frankfurt book fair and his praise of Mao Zedong's cultural policies in the mid-1940s. Furthermore, the Chinese version removed the last one third part of the English version. The first paragraph deleted contained the two examples of Mo Yan's works that satirize and criticized Chinese government. Then the Chinese version removed the next part citing a slightly positive comment from a Western academic. The journalist believed that the Nobel Prize would make the Chinese government lift its restrictions on art and reminded the readers that Liu Xiaobo, the Chinese dissident winning the Nobel Prize for Peace, was still in prison. The elimination that occurred in the translation of this news story is more like an act of self-censorship than a result of the consideration of news relevance or readers' background information. The other example is the Chinese news story entitled "Mo Yan: I hope he can get freedom as soon as possible"²⁴². The original English news report²⁴³ is an news report of Reuters which has been extracted by the FT UK. The Chinese version eliminated the second half of the original news report. In this removed part, the first two paragraphs briefly introduced the background of Mo Yan and his literary career. This FT Chinese eliminated this part based on the background information of its target readers. Chinese readers had a good grasp of Mo Yan's background information as related information had been reported repeatedly in China. Hence, the FT Chinese avoided redundant information. In the closing part, the original one quoted the central government's enthusiastic praise of Mo Yan's Nobel

²⁴² *Mo Yan: wo xiwang ta nenggou jinkuai huode ziyou*

²⁴³ Nobel winner calls for laureate's freedom

Prize, and harsh criticism on dissident Liu Xiaobo's Prize, putting the two Chinese Nobel winners into contrast: one was blessed by the government, and the other was put into prison. This elimination seems to be an act of self-censorship to avoid crossing the Chinese government's bottomline.

Chapter 7 Discussion

7.1.Quantitative comparison between the four online across the three case studies

The graph below illustrates the number of articles (news stories plus commentaries) produced by BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK and the FT Chinese on the selected three news events. What the four online portals have in common is that they all produced the lowest number of texts in covering Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize. BBC Chinese produced far more texts on this topic than the other three online portals. BBC Chinese outnumbered the other three online portals on this topic mainly because it followed up Mo Ya's performance in the awarding ceremony of the Nobel Prize, whereas the other three online portals did not cover the ceremony at all, suggesting that their interest in this ceremony was likely to be weaker than BBC UK.

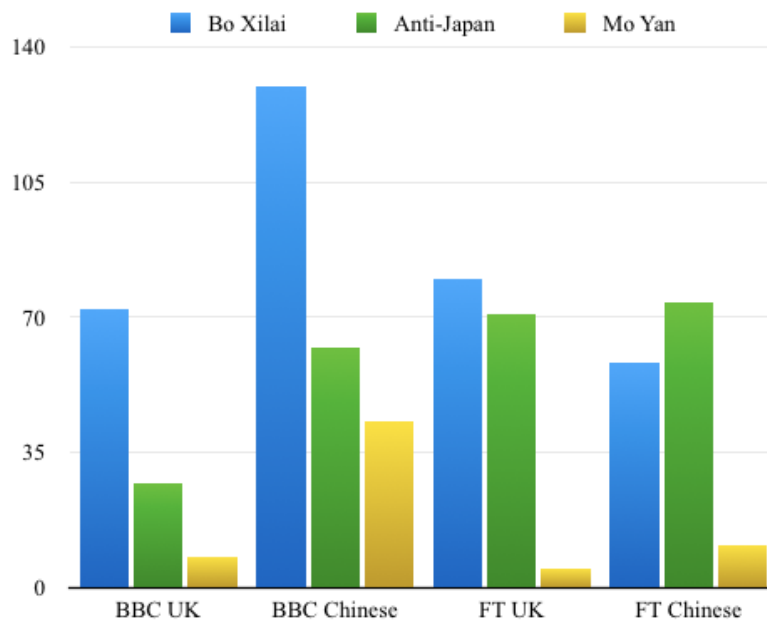


Figure 7.1 Numbers of texts on the selected three news events

To explain briefly, this study in some cases refers to Bo Xilai's case as the first case, the anti-Japan case as the second one, and Mo Yan's as the third one.

None of the four online portals surpasses the others in coverage of all of the three news events. BBC Chinese pays closer attention to the first and to the third case than the other three online portals which is illustrated through its advantage in output of texts covering these two news events. Meanwhile, the two FT online portals outnumber BBC Chinese with regard to the second case, indicating that the FT lays more emphasis on economic issues than BBC, in line with its nature. Examining the four online portals separately, this study discovers that apart from the FT Chinese, the bars of the other three online portals illustrate a downward tendency in the quantities of texts covering the three news events, showing their passion in politics and lack of interest in cultural events. At the same time, the FT Chinese presents a different tendency as the number of its texts covering the second case outnumbers the other two cases²⁴⁴, showing that the FT Chinese regards economic issues as its first priority. The FT UK shows similarity with its Chinese branch on this point as the quantitative gap between its texts covering the first and second cases is fairly minor whereas the drop from the second one to the third is dramatic²⁴⁵. The two FT online portals' interest in the anti-Japan case fits the FT Chinese's readers' survey and traffic analysis that the FT's Chinese readers are "more interested in what's

²⁴⁴ The FT Chinese: 74; 58; 11.

²⁴⁵ The FT UK: 80; 71; 5.

happening in local markets and in China's economic development, Asian and China's financial markets, as well as in major events in global markets" (Zhang, 2013). In contrast, the drop from the first case to the second case is dramatic for the two BBC online portals, indicating a boom in BBC's interest in political news events²⁴⁶.

In terms of genre, the FT Chinese shows its strength in producing commentaries as it outnumbers the other three online portals in all of the three cases by a wide margin. As a matter of fact, the two FT online portals go far ahead of the two BBC online portals quantitatively in the first and the second cases, until BBC Chinese broke the trend in the Mo Yan case, which indicates that exploring the significance behind news events is a feature of the FT's news editing style. The gap between the four online portals reaches its culmination in the anti-Japan case as the two FT online portals produced far more commentaries than on the other two cases²⁴⁷, whereas the two BBC online portals produced no commentary at all. When it comes to Mo Yan's case, the two English online portals illustrate a lack of interest. BBC Chinese comes second, following the FT Chinese in this case, while the two English online portals are equal in their numbers of commentaries²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁶ BBC Chinese: 72; 27; 8, BBC UK: 130; 62; 43.

²⁴⁷ The FT Chinese : 51, the FT UK: 29.

²⁴⁸ The FT Chinese: 8, BBC Chinese: 5, BBC UK and the FT UK: 1

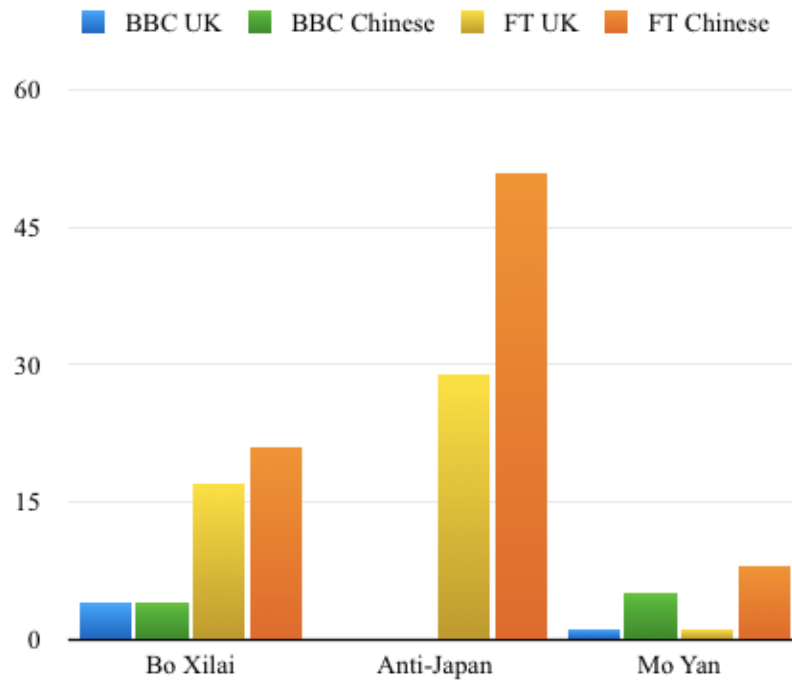


Figure 7.2 Numbers of the genre of commentary to the selected three news events

In contrast to the FT, the two BBC online portals illustrate their advantage in news reporting. The graph below shows a similar pattern to the one above. One news online portal, in this case, BBC Chinese, surpasses the other three online portals in all three cases. Plus, the two BBC online portals outnumber the two FT online portals in two cases, namely the first and the third cases, and the pattern is different in one case, the second case, as the FT UK outnumbers BBC UK in this case. As for the numbers of news reports, all of the four online portals show the same pattern that they produced their biggest quantity of news reports on the first case and their smallest quantity on the third case. The widest gap between BBC Chinese and the

other three is in the third case²⁴⁹. BBC Chinese covered various aspects of this cultural event in such a detailed way that the other three online portals cannot compete. Furthermore, the two BBC online portals and the FT Chinese demonstrate a more diverse viewpoint while the FT stuck to the political side of Mo Yan's case.

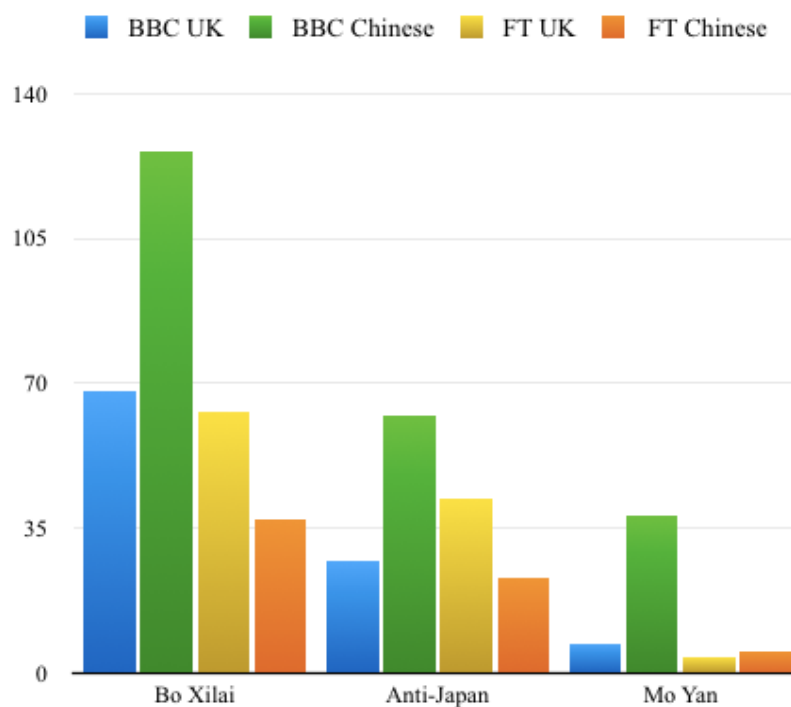


Figure 7.3 Numbers of the genre of news reports on the selected three news

With regard to the two genres of news reports, action story and statement-opinion story, the following graphs illustrate that BBC UK and the two FT online portals present a similar pattern, while BBC Chinese illustrates a distinctive one.

²⁴⁹ BBC Chinese: 37, BBC UK: 7, the FT UK: 4, the FT Chinese: 3

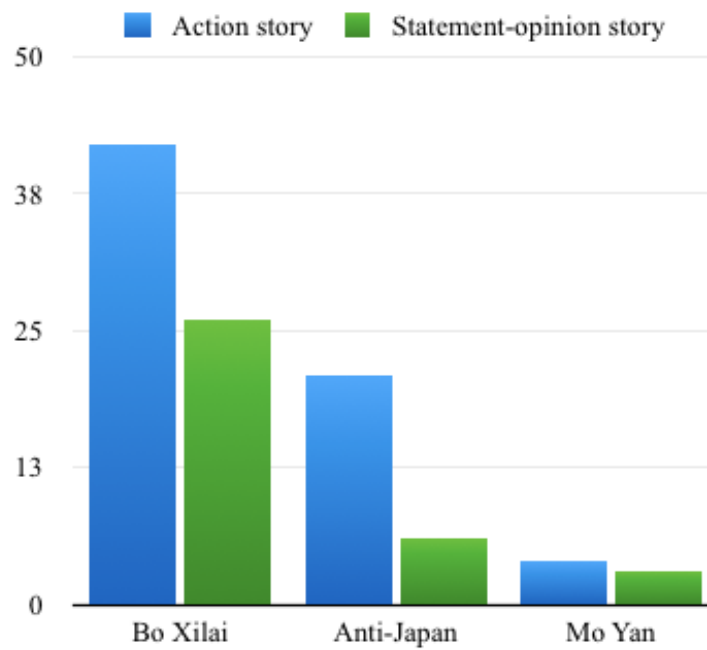


Figure 7.4 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—BBC UK

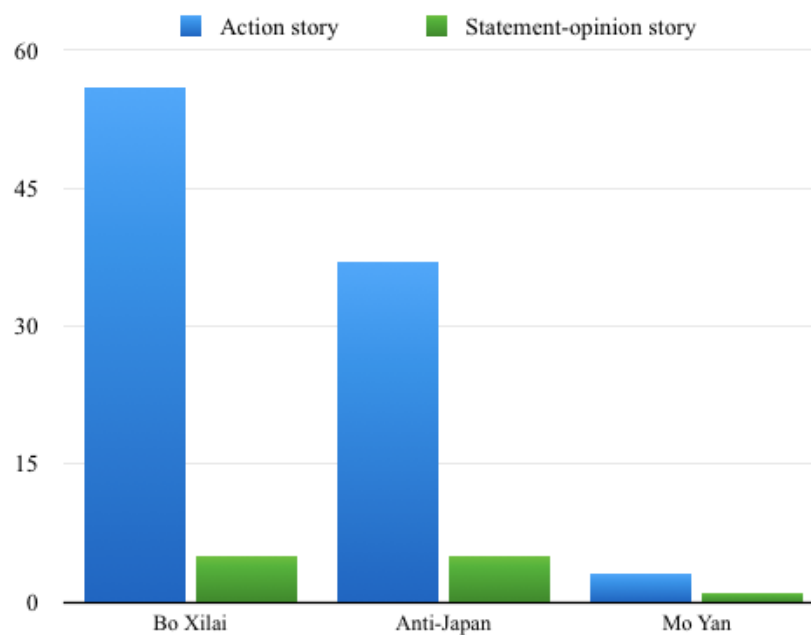


Figure 7.5 Numbers of the two genres of news reports—FT UK

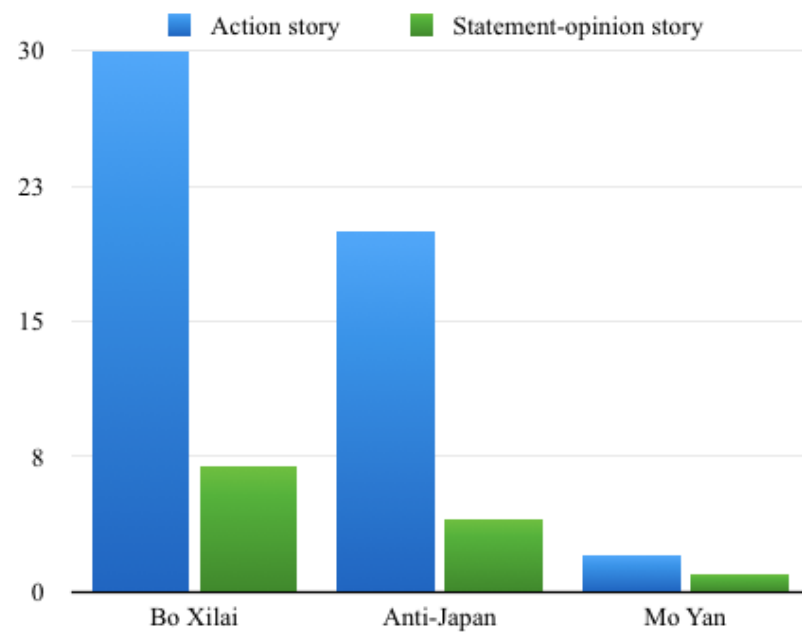


Figure 7.6 Distribution of the two genres of news reports—FT Chinese

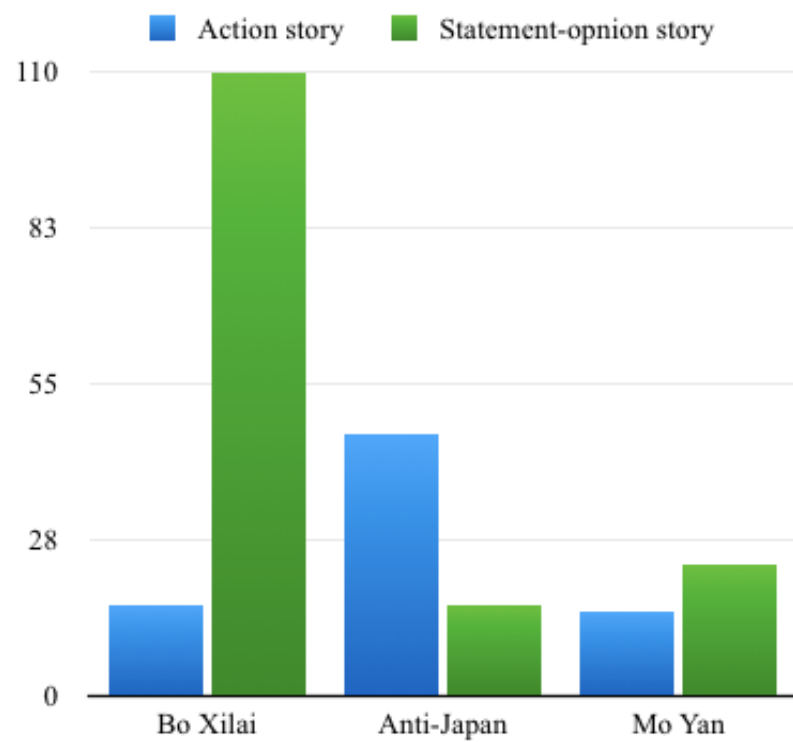


Figure 7.7 Distribution of the two genres of news reports—BBC Chinese

In the graphs of the former three online portals, the number of action stories surpasses that of statement-opinion stories and the two numbers are almost equal in the third case. The gap between the two genres of the two FT online portals is wider than that of BBC UK, indicating that the FT UK does not value other information sources apart from its own journalists. The reason why this study considers that the result can only show the FT UK's preference in information sources is that the FT Chinese can only access its news reports from its British headquarters, rather than mobilising its own reporting force. To examine the FT Chinese's own style, this study regards the commentaries of the FT Chinese as the most important reference. The FT Chinese has a column called "Media Note" (meiti zhaji), which collages commentaries from key Chinese news media, online portals and social media, and integrates the columnist's own opinions. This column presents crucial evidence that the FT Chinese regards other news media as an essential weathervane of Chinese elite ideology and dominant ideology, which is a different attitude from that of the FT UK.

BBC Chinese, however, did not adopt a consistent preference in genre in these three cases as the other three online portals did. Starting from the first case, the number of statement-opinion stories surpasses that of action stories. The pattern is reversed in the second case, and then original pattern resumes in the third case. The gap between the two genres is dramatically wide in the first case. The pattern demonstrates that in the first and the third cases, BBC Chinese attaches great importance to the investigation of elite ideology and of the dominant ideology of China, which can be examined through the standpoints of news media and key figures of certain communities. However, the pattern is broken in the second case as BBC Chinese

transfer its focus to the details of the protests. A possible cause is the lack of attention to this case by overseas news media. As a result, the number of statement-opinion stories covering other news media's opinions falls dramatically compared with the first case, which brings down the total number of statement-opinion stories. In addition, the demonstrations did not stir as much controversy as Mo Yan's Nobel Prize. BBC Chinese, therefore, did not have much content in ideology to cover. Generally speaking, the FT UK holds least interest, if any, in other media's voices as the other three online portals have at least a column presenting other media's voices while the FT UK has none.

The four online portals covered a diversity of issues in each case. The numbers vary according to each online portal's preference in themes.

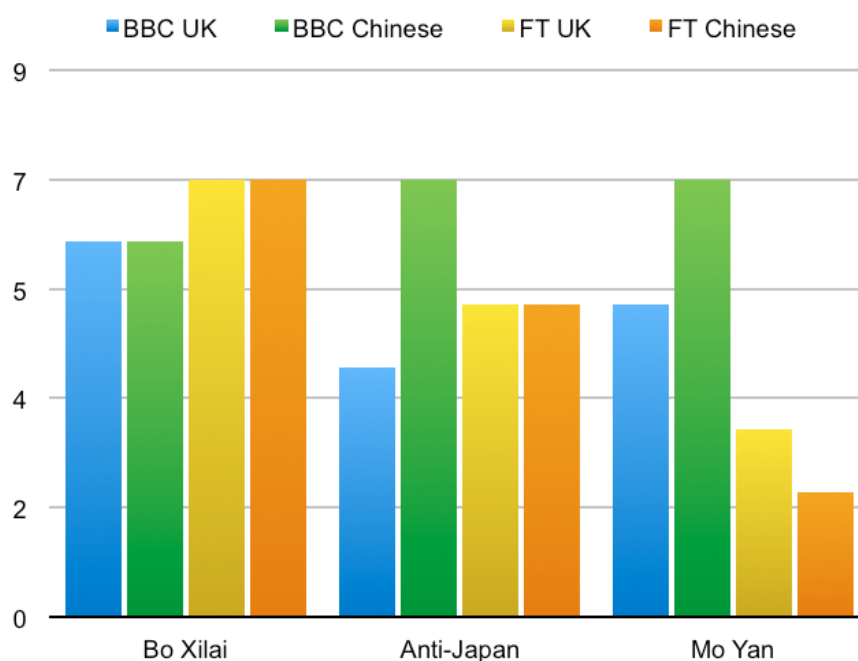


Figure 7.8 Numbers of issues covered in each case

The graph above illustrates the advantage of BBC Chinese in the diversity of themes

as it outnumbers the other three online portals in two cases in terms of quantity of themes. Even in the first case, in which the two FT online portals surpassed BBC Chinese, BBC Chinese lagged behind by just one theme. As for the cases, the four online portals acted consistently in trying to present a fully-covered picture in Bo Xiali's case, while they showed dramatic differences in their interest in the other two cases.

With regard to translation, the four online portals illustrate consistency in three cases.

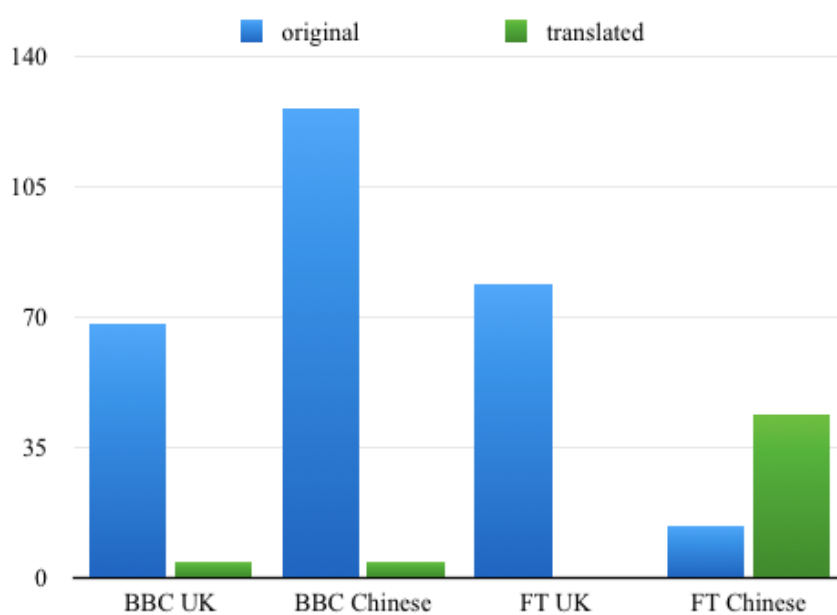


Figure7.9 Numbers of original and translated articles in Bo Xilai's case

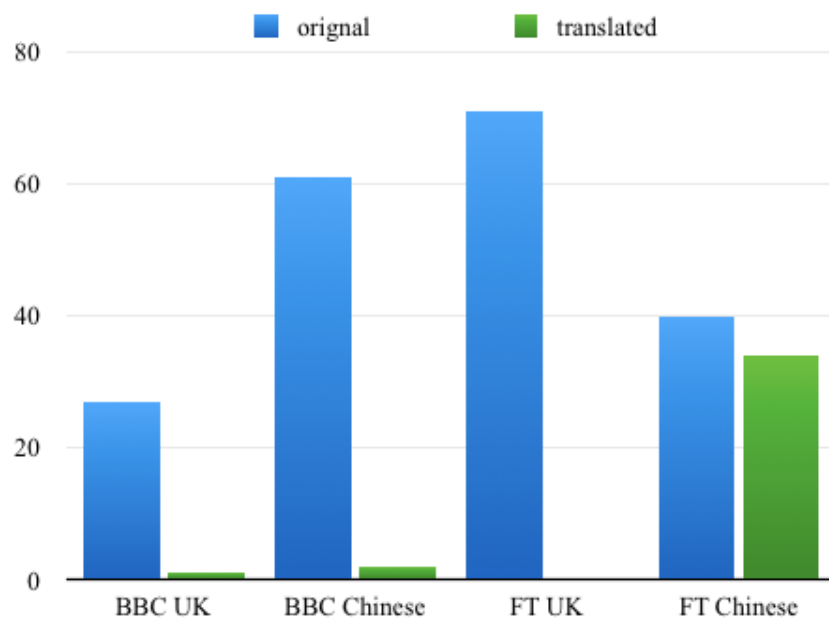


Figure 7.10 Numbers of original and translated articles in Anti-Japan's case

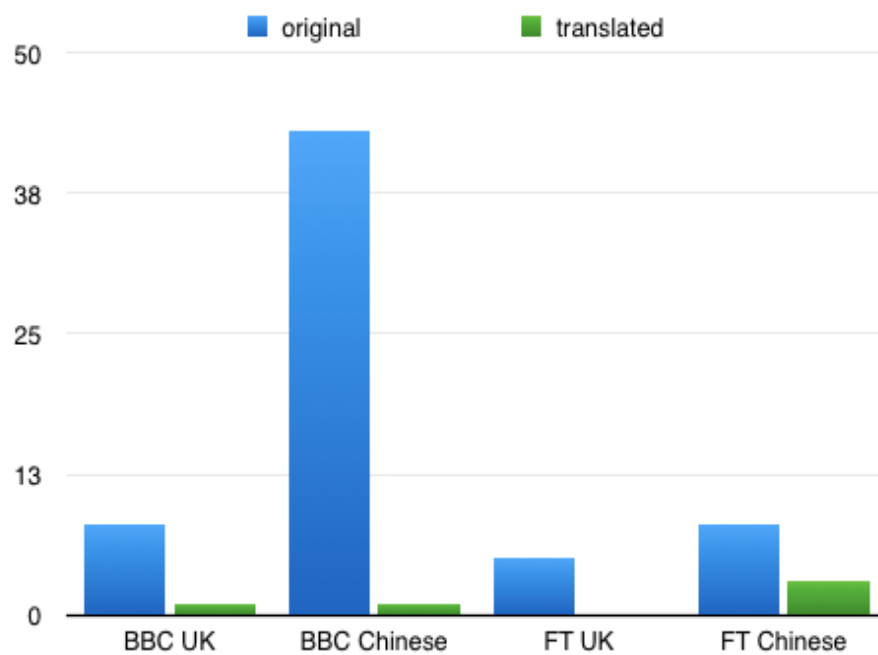


Figure 7.11 Numbers of original and translated articles in Mo Yan's case

The above three graphs show that the reliance of FT Chinese on translation is much heavier than that of the three other online portals. Translated works only take up a

minor part of the two BBC online portals' texts and takes up no part of the FT UK's texts. The two BBC online portals translated more works on the first case than on the other two. Even in the first case, the two BBC online portals just translated four articles respectively. The number for BBC UK drops to one in the next two cases, and the number for BBC Chinese drops to two in the second case and to one in the third case. The FT Chinese, on the other hand, adopts a different route. The number of its translated works even triples its original works in terms of the first case²⁵⁰. However, the proportion of translated works keeps decreasing since the second case. With regard to the second case, the number of original works of the FT Chinese slightly outnumbers that of translated works ²⁵¹. Furthermore, the quantitative advantage of original works becomes more obvious in the third case ²⁵². The proportion of translated works of the FT Chinese remains consistent with that of its news reports. In the first case, the number of the FT Chinese's news reports surpasses that in the other two cases. At the same time, its translated works reach the highest point in the first case. The number of the FT Chinese's news reports and that of its translated works reach the lowest point in the third case. When the FT Chinese's commentaries reach their highest point in the second case, it also has the highest number of original works in this case. This pattern proves the Interviewee 2's claim that the FT Chinese does not have the right to conduct news reporting. As an

²⁵⁰ Translated works: 44, original works: 14.

²⁵¹ Translated works: 36, translated works: 40.

²⁵² Translated works: 3, original works: 8.

advertising consulting unit, the FT Chinese can only post news reports by translating from its English headquarters, which explains the quantitative consistency between its news reports and its translated works.

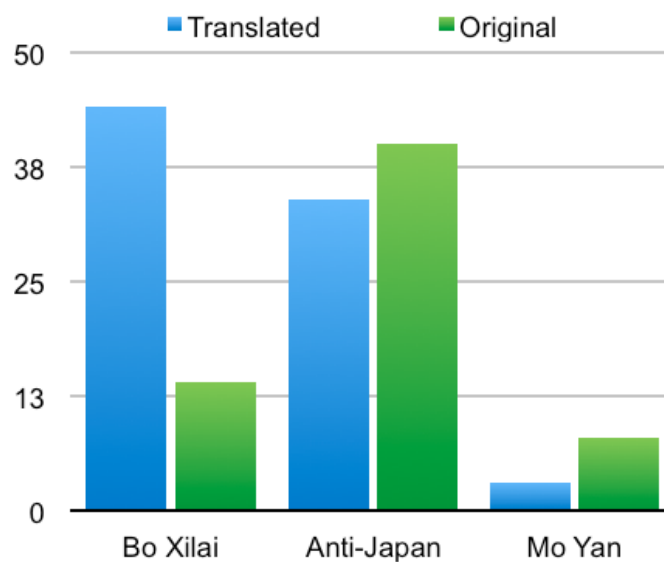


Figure 7.12 Numbers of original and translated works of the FT Chinese

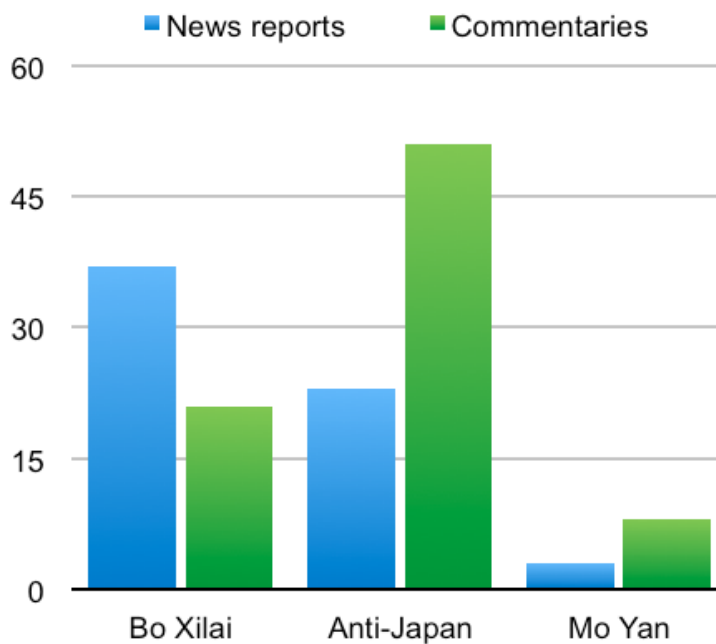


Figure 7.13 Numbers of original and translated works of the FT Chinese

7.2.Framing patterns of the four online portals

The two BBC online portals and the FT UK did present different styles as the two BBC online portals tend to frame a single theme in one news story, while the FT UK preferred to frame multiple themes in news coverage. This difference exists across all three cases. As the FT Chinese does not produce news reports on its own for the reason mentioned earlier, the comparison of framing styles is limited to the other three online portals only. For example, BBC UK framed Mo Yan's attitude towards Liu Xiaobo exclusively in the news story entitled "Chinese author Mo Yan hopes for Liu Xiaobo release", and focused on reactions towards Mo Yan's Nobel Prize in Literature in "Mo Yan's Nobel literature prize draws mixed reactions". Similarly, BBC Chinese reported solely on one aspect of Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in news stories. For instance, "China's Writers' Association: Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize is a good thing for the field of literature" exclusively framed China's writers' association's congratulatory message on Mo's award. "Nobel Prize award ceremony ends with Mo Yan receiving the prize in literature" focused on the procedure of the Nobel Prize award ceremony and Mo Yan's part in it. In some cases, BBC Chinese framed only one detail in a news story. For example, BBC Chinese just reported on Mo Yan's speech in the Nobel Literature lecture in the news coverage entitled "Mo Yan told his own story in Nobel Literature lecture"²⁵³. "Chinese writers' rich list

²⁵³ *Mo Yan nuobei'er wenxuejiang shuo ziji de gushi*

comes out, Mo Yan jumps to second”²⁵⁴ shows the economic benefit the Nobel Prize brought Mo. The FT UK, on the other hand, integrates multiple themes into one story. Both of its news stories, entitled “Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature” and “Wealthy writer draws on his humble start”, covered the news of Mo winning the award, various reactions towards the news, Mo’s controversial past, and the contrast between Chinese government’s treatment of Mo Yan, Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian.

In terms of Bo Xilai’s case, the news story entitled “Top chief says Bo Xilai scandal ‘damaged’ China’s image” from BBC UK, framed exclusively the criticism of Bo by Chinese officials. BBC Chinese also focused on this topic in “Disassociate Chongqing’s achievements from those Bo Xilai”²⁵⁵. BBC UK’s “Netizens criticize Gu Kailai’s sentence” illustrated social media’s reaction to Gu’s sentence. BBC Chinese focused solely on Bo’s expulsion in “Bo Xilai expelled from the Party and his post”. The news story entitled “Victim of Bo Xilai’s gang crackdown claims confession under torture” in BBC Chinese exclusively framed those persecuted by Bo. These examples are given just to name a few. The FT UK, however, produced news stories covering several themes. For example, in the news story entitled “Bo Xilai: power, death and politics”, the FT UK framed four themes, including Heywood’s death, Bo’s rule in Chongqing, Bo’s family background and his marriage. The news coverage entitled “Wall of silence around fate of China’s Bo”

²⁵⁴ *Zhongguo zuojia fuhaobang jixiao Mo Yan yueju di'er*

²⁵⁵ *ba Chongqing de chengji yu Bo Xilai qubiekai*

covered themes ranging from the court's strict restriction on journalists, to analysis of Bo's fate and the crisis in the ruling Communist Party and Chinese judicial system.

As for the anti-Japan case, BBC UK framed solely the economic influence caused by the anti-Japan wave in news stories such as "Japan exports fall for fifth consecutive month". News stories including "Anti-Japan protests across China over islands dispute" exclusively paid attention to the violence of the anti-Japan protests. Similarly, the news coverage entitled "Chinese netizens launched anti-Japan protests in multiple cities"²⁵⁶ of BBC Chinese focused on the anti-Japan protests launched by Chinese netizens. In contrast, the FT UK covers a diversity of themes. For instance, "Anti-Japan protests spread across China" framed not only the anti-Japan demonstrations erupting across China, but also their economic influence and Japan's attitude.

Considering the difference in the framing styles of the three news online portals, this study finds that the earlier quantitative data concerning the total number of accounts in the four online portals' coverage of these three cases only presents a superficial picture. Then qualitative data demonstrates another side of the collage. Despite the fact that BBC outnumbers the FT in the output of news stories across these three cases, the majority of the FT UK's news stories cover multiple themes, while a large

²⁵⁶ *Zhongguo wangmin faqi duoge chengshi fanri youxing*

part of the two BBC online portals' news stories frame a single theme. In other words, the average amount of information per story in the FT UK surpasses that of the two BBC online portals. Therefore, BBC did not have an advantage in coverage of information from the aspect of quantity. Taking the anti-Japan case as an example, the FT UK covered an anti-China protest in Japan so as to frame Japan's attitude towards the anti-Japan wave in China, whereas neither of the two BBC online portals covered ordinary Japanese people's attitudes in this case. In this way, the two BBC online portals form a fragmented news reporting style, which reflects the characteristics of immediacy in online news (Deuze, 2003). The immediacy characteristics, as Karlsson (2007) put it, means that "when information is received by news producers it is then passed on to the news consumers" (referenced by Piyasirisilp and Bunchapattanasukda, 2011: 106), which radically shortens the news cycle of online news (Merritt & McCombs, 2004, in Piyasirisilp and Bunchapattanasukda, 2011: 106).

By providing fragmented news stories limiting their focuses to just one or a small number of details, BBC sets up an image of a vast information reservoir providing some details that no other news online portals cover, establishing its authority in all-round information coverage. In these three cases concerning news events in China, BBC Chinese shows a stronger fragmented-style reporting than BBC UK. Their difference on this point is the result of their different target readership, as BBC Chinese targets its readership at Chinese netizens around the world while BBC UK target the media market in Britain. The FT UK, on the other hand, tried to compete with other news media in depth of news reports. Rather than sticking to one detail in each news story, the FT UK tends to present an all-over picture covering various

sides of a story. By positioning itself as a news media covering a diversity of angles of a news event, the FT UK puts it in an “objective” standpoint rather than a news media limiting itself to one side of a story.

In the process of framing, thematic framing is the most frequently used framing device applied to all of these three cases by the three online portals. No obvious preference between the two forms of thematic structure, namely observation and quotation, appeared for any of the three online portals. The selection of quotations and observed facts illustrates the standpoints of the three online portals. For instance, BBC Chinese applied thematic structure to framing Bo Xilai’s ruthlessness²⁵⁷ through observation of his dictatorial policies. BBC UK, however, adopted thematic structure to stress the positive aspects of Bo through quotation of praise of Bo²⁵⁸. The three online portals applied thematic structure in the form of quotation to framing reactions to Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in literature. However, the FT UK made more effort to make the negative side of Mo Yan salient by selecting quotations from criticisms of Mo Yan. Plus, when dating back to Mo Yan’s past, the FT UK focused on the controversial political acts of Mo, demonstrating the FT UK’s critical attitude to Mo Yan. Despite the fact that Mo Yan was awarded the prize for his accomplishment in literature not politics, the FT UK still framed him as being not

²⁵⁷ “British media: Bo Xilai’s personal guard arrested policemen”(*Bo Xilai siren baobiao daibu jingcha*) and “Victim of Bo Xilai’s gang crackdown claims confession made under torture” (*Bo Xilai dahei shouhaizhe cheng shoukaoda zhaogong*)

²⁵⁸ Does Chongqing miss former 'emperor' Bo Xilai?

qualified for this award. Meanwhile, the two BBC online portals kept a quantitative balance between the quotations speaking highly of Mo and those doubting his award, showing that the two BBC online portals chose a neutral standpoint in this case. However, a neutral standpoint does not mean the two BBC online portals were being objective to Mo's political standpoint, but were balancing out between views of Mo's political controversial behaviours and of his accomplishment in literature. When it came to the literary comments on Mo, both of the two BBC online portals exclusively adopted positive quotations. However, when it came to commenting on the political nature of Mo, what the two BBC online portals quoted were critical comments. The selection of the quotations illustrates that the two BBC online portals accept Mo Yan's literary quality, but disagree with his political identity.

Under some circumstances, the three online portals have points in common in using the framing device of thematic structure. In the anti-Japan case, the three online portals applied thematic structure to frame the economic loss Japan suffered from the anti-Japan wave.

Compared with thematic structure, rhetorical structure was used less frequently by the three online portals. Among the three cases, the framing device of rhetorical structure was applied to Bo Xilai's case most frequently, while the three online portals used this framing device only occasionally in the other two cases, indicating that BBC and the FT tend to add dramatic elements to political news stories.

Of all the rhetorical devices, all of the three online portals applied dramatic wording much more frequently than other rhetorical devices. When describing Bo Xilai, BBC UK adopted the dramatic word of “charismatic”²⁵⁹ most frequently, indicating that BBC UK held a sympathetic attitude towards Bo. Plus, the dramatic words of “flamboyant”, “elegant” and “popular” were also popular choices for BBC UK. All of these words served the goal of making Bo’s advantage salient. During the framing process, BBC UK consistently brought up the concept of “Western-style politician” as it repeatedly called Bo “the nearest thing China has to a Western-style politician”. Linking the dramatic words to a “western-style politician”, BBC UK set up a stereotype of “western style” as charming and elegant in spite of the variety of western politicians’ characters. At the same time, as Bo was described as “suave” and “charismatic”, the story indirectly stereotyped all other Chinese politicians who were “far from western style” as dull and boring.

The FT UK also used the dramatic words of “charismatic” and “flamboyant”, but the former only appeared once, and the latter twice. Unlike BBC UK, which applied rhetorical structure to framing Bo’s good points only, the FT UK also used dramatic wording to make Bo’s dark side salient. Highly dramatic words such as “king”, “dictator”, and even “Hitler-like” were used to stress a dictator-like image of Bo.

Instead of applying dramatic wording, BBC Chinese used literary allusion to frame

²⁵⁹ Appeared in nine news stories

Bo's personality. BBC Chinese used the literary allusion of Robin Hood who robbed the rich to help the poor to refer to Bo²⁶⁰, which bestowed moral glory on Bo. In spite of the difference in the selection of rhetorical devices, both of the two BBC online portals stressed Bo's positive aspects while they omitted his negative points. Hence, the Bo Xilai framed by the two BBC online portals gives an image of a victim of cruel political persecution, while the FT UK framed him as a politician obsessed with power, which resulted in his downfall.

What the three online portals have in common is that they applied dramatic wording to the portrayal of Bo's case as a political conspiracy. The key word of "purge" was used by all of the three online portals to refer to Bo's downfall, showing that all three online portals doubted the true motive for punishing Bo Xilai. In order to make the ingredient of conspiracy salient, the FT UK adopted the words of "drama" and "scripted", and BBC Chinese used the phrases of "power struggle", and "deal" to frame Bo's case. To dramatize the element of conspiracy, BBC Chinese adopted the dramatic word of "mysterious" to frame the reason for Bo's downfall. BBC UK, on this point, did not adopt as many dramatic words as it did in framing Bo's personal charms. BBC Chinese and the FT UK tried hard to frame conspiracy theory with the framing device of rhetorical structure, whereas BBC UK devoted rhetorical structure to framing a charming Bo Xilai, who was regarded as a "western style" politician.

²⁶⁰ British media: CCP wants to discredit Bo Xilai

When framing Bo's case, BBC Chinese and the FT UK stressed two elements that are actually contradictory to each other: communism and feudalism. The two online portals applied key words presenting the stereotype of the Communist Party. Both BBC Chinese and the FT UK used the key word of "red", a colour considered to represent the Communist Party, when referring to the Chinese ruling Communist Party. BBC UK adopted the word of "comrade" to stress the element of the communist party in Bo's case. At the same time, BBC Chinese and BBC UK used the dramatic word "emperor" to frame Bo. Plus, BBC Chinese and the FT UK adopted the dramatic word "princeling" to stress the importance of heredity which seems feudalistic in nature within the Chinese communist party. These dramatic words stressed the contradiction between the slogans of the Communist Party, which serve to diminish class division within society and achieve equality between people, and the prestige currently enjoyed by leaders of the party. The FT UK even integrated the two contradictory elements into one phrase: "red aristocrat" to describe Bo. However, BBC Chinese and the FT UK did not put the two contradictory factors, communism and feudalism, together to expose how the Chinese Communist Party violated its original revolutionary motive and actually carried on corrupt customs. Instead, to raise readers' interest by dramatizing their news stories was the goal of the two online portals. The two online portals added dramatic and sensational flavour to their news coverage by adopting stereotypical words with dramatic effect. For

both western and Chinese readers, ancient feudalist royal life always appears mysterious and appealing. Hence, not only BBC Chinese and the FT UK, but BBC UK also made the contradictions of the Communist Party prominent by using the dramatic word of “emperor”²⁶¹. However, BBC UK did not play the card of the communist stereotype. For the FT UK, the stereotypical words of communism create a novel and rather thrilling atmosphere for western readers. For BBC Chinese, these words could remind Chinese readers of the turbulent period of the Cultural Revolution because one of the controversies about Bo’s rule in Chongqing is the link between the “red culture” campaign and the Cultural Revolution. The policies of broadcasting revolutionary dramas and shows, ordering students to work in rural areas and ordering cadets to follow the path of the Red Army in their uniforms, all originated from the Cultural Revolution. To intensify this effect, BBC Chinese even used the phrase of “red terror” in one of its news stories²⁶². Therefore, the two online portals could achieve the goal of attracting readers by applying rhetorical structure to create a world wrapped in a thrilling and mysterious atmosphere which is far beyond the reach of their readers.

In terms of the anti-Japan case, the three online portals share a common ground: instead of traditional dramatic wording, they relied on dramatic photos to frame the violence of the protests in China. Icons including provocative slogans, turned-over

²⁶¹ Does Chongqing miss former “emperor” Bo Xilai?

²⁶² British media: Bo Xilai’s personal guard arrested policemen (*Yingmei: Bo Xilai siren baobiao daibu jingcha*)

Japanese-made vehicles, Chinese national flags, portraits of Mao Zedong, appear repeatedly in the photos, making nationalism salient. However, differences exist between the three online portals in terms of application of visual aids. The two BBC online portals laid emphasis more on the violent elements in the protests than the FT UK as violent icons appeared more frequently in the two BBC online portals' photos than in the FT UK's.

With regard to Mo Yan's case, the three online portals used the framing device of rhetorical structure through contrast, instead of dramatic expressions as in the other two cases. All of the three online portals constructed a contrast between Mo Yan, and the two other Chinese who won the Nobel Prize earlier, Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian. The contrast consists of twofold comparisons: a comparison between the Chinese government's attitudes to Mo Yan and the other two and a comparison between criticism of Mo Yan and praise for him. The contrast on the surface is between Mo Yan and the two Chinese dissidents Nobel Prize winners, Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian: deep down, a contrast is set up between "us" and "them".

BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK all divided a line between "we" and "they". "We" represented democracy and humanity, while "they", in this case the Chinese government, symbolized dictatorship and injustice. Those who disagreed with or fought against the Chinese government were regarded as members of "us", a member of the "righteous" camp, while those who did not voice a disagreement belonged to "them". Therefore, the three online portals adopted a sympathetic tone towards Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xingjian. However, none of the three online portals ever pose a single question doubting whether Liu and Gao were worthy of their Nobel Prizes,

nor is there any mention of a critical message towards these two dissidents.

At the same time, the three online portals categorized Mo Yan as “them” because he is a writer within the Chinese Communist Party system. Therefore, the three online portals frequently questioned his qualification for the Nobel Prize in Literature and quoted critical comments on him. Despite the fact that Mo Yan won the Nobel Prize for his accomplishments in literature not in politics, all of the three online portals’ doubts over Mo Yan were exclusively based on his political acts rather than his literary skills. According to the judgemental standpoint of the three online portals, being pro-government or anti-government is the standard by which to decide who should be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. The three portals’ framing style sets a model that those who share the same ideology as “we” do, are framed to be righteous or heroic, whereas those who hold different ideologies from “us” are framed to be evil or an accomplice of dictatorship.

Although the three online portals basically held the same attitude towards Mo, a slight difference still exists between them. Unlike BBC Chinese and the FT UK which focused solely on Mo Yan’s political conduct, BBC UK produced two news stories concentrating on the literary skills of Mo Yan²⁶³. The FT UK, on the other hand, held a more critical attitude towards Mo Yan as it adopted dramatic words

²⁶³ “Chinese author Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize for literature” and “Beginners’ guide to Mo Yan”

including “dictator”, “purge” and “censorship” to frame the Chinese government²⁶⁴, thus making Mo’s supportive acts of the “evil side” salient. In addition, the FT UK repeatedly applied thematic structure in the form of observation to stress Mo Yan’s past political acts which were regarded as moves to support the Chinese government’s dictatorship in art. To sum up, BBC UK chose a more neutral standpoint than the other two online portals as it balanced between discussion about Mo’s political behaviour and his literary style. We can also consider the viewpoint of BBC Chinese gentle, as it quoted Mo’s appeal for the release of Liu Xiaobo, an act BBC Chinese regarded as “righteous”. Furthermore, it produced a news story quoting Taiwan writer Long Yingtai’s comments that the Nobel Prize for literature should focus on literary accomplishment instead of political factors. The FT UK, however, chose an absolutely critical attitude towards Mo Yan as it did not quote any praise of Mo Yan’s literary skills, nor did it cite any conduct on the part of Mo Yan that the FT UK considered to be “righteous”. The FT Chinese, in this case, chose a more professional viewpoint, which went far from that of its British headquarters. As the FT Chinese is not capable of reporting news, it can only to some extent reflect its standpoint through the commentaries it selected. Among the eight commentaries of the FT Chinese, two conducted a purely literary criticism on Mo’s literary works²⁶⁵, which goes much deeper and is more professional than all the works of the other

²⁶⁴ “Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature” and “Wealthy writer draws from humble start”

²⁶⁵ “Does Literature still have the power of salvation?” (*wenxue shifou haiyou jiushu de liliang?*) and “Mo Yan in movie industry” (*dianying zhong de Mo Yan*)

three online portals. In addition, a commentary called for the public to pay attention to the soul of a writer instead of focusing on his or her nationality, morality or political position²⁶⁶.

7.3. Journalistic ideologies of the four online portals

According to Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), “journalistic ideology provides another major source of influence on the framing of news” (134). Hence, the framing patterns of the two BBC online portals and the FT UK reflect their journalistic ideologies. As the journalistic ideologies function as motives for the three online portals’ framing modes, it is essential to investigate their journalistic ideologies through their framing patterns.

One of the differences between BBC and the FT is that the former lays emphasis on events, whereas the latter’s emphasis lies on issues. Throughout all of the three cases, the fragmented-style news reporting of the two online portals demonstrates that the two BBC online portals paid more attention to covering events rather than focusing on a specific issue. The FT, on the contrary, made more effort to present an issue rather than portray a single event as it always added analysis to its news stories. For example, in Bo Xilai’s case, BBC UK produced 36 news stories covering the whole process of the trials of the three protagonists, and BBC Chinese produced 37 news

²⁶⁶ Don’t totemize Mon Yan (*wujiang Mo Yan tuteng hua*)

stories on this topic. They contributed independent news stories to cover the start of a trial, the ending of a trial, the result of a trial, and the process of a trial respectively. The FT, at the same time, produced 23 news stories on the trials, none of whom covered just the process of the trials. Even the news stories with titles such as “Bo Xilai’s wife charged with murder”, which suggests coverage of one event, brought up the issues of Chinese judicial system, the power struggle within the party and the Chinese government’s censorship on media. There were also news stories with titles such as “Wang case dashes hopes of legal reform”, which suggests a focus on one issue, and which dug deep into one issue involved in Bo Xilai’s case. Although the FT Chinese could not show its journalistic ideology through news reports on this point, a trace of its journalistic ideology can be discovered through its selection of news stories. The FT Chinese cut the FT UK’s news stories on the trials to 15, and kept all those investigating one issue with thematic structure, indicating that the FT Chinese, similar to its English headquarters, emphasizes on issues rather than events. The two BBC online portals’, especially BBC Chinese, in covering details of the other two cases proves their emphasis on events, while the FT UK’s reporting-plus-analysis framing style confirms its emphasis on issues. On this point, the FT Chinese’s cutting of news stories covering details and keeping o those discussing an issue illustrates that the FT Chinese emphasized even more on issues than the FT UK.

What BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK have in common is their focus on the unusual and the deviant, which according to Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad is an important journalistic ideology of western news media (1998). This point is illustrated in the quantitative difference between their output on the three cases. The

two BBC online portals' output culminated in Bo Xilai's case, and dropped to the lowest point in Mo Yan's case, demonstrating their focus on the deviant. The FT UK culminated in the anti-Japan case, and also dropped to the lowest point in Mo Yan's case. Despite the fact that the FT Chinese selected only part of the FT UK's news reports, the FT Chinese still kept the same pace with its English headquarters on the quantitative distribution of output on these three cases (Figure 7.1). The FT UK's emphasis on the anti-Japan case fits its identity as a financial news agency because of the economic influence caused by this case. As for the FT Chinese, its focus on this case is consistent with its target readership of "Chinese business elites". Although the two FT online portals culminated in the anti-Japan case, their output in Bo Xilai's case was almost the same as in the anti-Japan case, which indicates that the two FT online portals, like the two BBC online portals, also focus on unusual news. Despite the fact that the Nobel Prize is a significant event in the field of science and art, the four online portals paid much less attention to the news than to the other two cases. Unlike Bo Xilai's case, which contains dramatic elements of murder, an "aristocratic" family, a popular political star, and conspiracy, or the anti-Japan case, which contains dramatic factors of violence and conflict, a Nobel Prize winner's news lacks an ingredient of deviance. However, the two BBC online portals and the FT UK still managed to uncover controversial issues of Mo Yan's political nature. Still, compared with the other two cases, the drama contained in Mo Yan's case is too weak. Hence, the three online portals act consistently. The FT Chinese acted also consistently with the other three online portals, which is illustrated through the comparison of the quantities of its commentaries on these three cases. The number of the FT Chinese's commentaries on the anti-Japan case reaches 51, that on Bo Xilai's

case reaches 21, while the number on Mo Yan's case is just eight.

Another characteristic of the four online portals' journalistic ideology is their focus on elite sources and actors. The FT Chinese shows a stronger reliance on elite sources than the other three online portals. The FT Chinese exclusively invite elite contributors to write commentaries. The authors of the FT Chinese's original Chinese commentaries on these three cases are either academic experts, or professional columnists. The FT UK does not demonstrate a dependence on elite sources so strongly as its Chinese branch does, but still, its focus on elite sources is stronger than the two BBC online portals. The FT UK draws the majority of its commentaries from elite actors including academic researchers or professional columnists, which is similar to the FT Chinese. At the same time, a minority of the FT UK's commentaries originate from ordinary readers. For example, after posting a commentary written by the Chinese ambassador to the UK, Liu Xiaoming, the FT UK posted two responding commentaries from ordinary readers²⁶⁷. However, the FT UK only posted these two commentaries from non-elite contributors throughout these three cases. The two FT online portals demonstrate a journalistic ideology that tends to reinforce the dominant ideology in China not only by being subject to manipulation by elites but also through trivialization of other less powerful groups in society.

²⁶⁷ "Irony of China lecturing Japan on being a good neighbour" and "Japan would be wise to consider looking at its recent past".

BBC Chinese, however, shows the most open attitude to “grass-root” sources among these four online portals. The commentators of BBC Chinese are Chinese Internet users from all over the world. The writers work in various fields, most of whom do not sign their work. In some cases, the authors just wrote their English names. Compared with the elite commentators of the two FT online portals, BBC Chinese’s commentators lack highly professional skills in analysis and solid ground for their arguments. Mostly, the commentaries of BBC Chinese serve as outlets of the writers’ personal feelings. As Interviewee 1 explained the purpose of this column:

“The purpose of this column is clear, which is to invite our readers, who come from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, to contribute their articles, and then we make a choice. In fact, we do not judge the articles to be right or wrong, we purely want to see how ordinary people view the event. Of course, among these people, some hold government-leaning opinions, at the same time some hold western-leaning or so called ‘liberal’ opinions. It doesn’t matter. We’ll publish the comments as long as they do not have, for example, libel, personal attack, or illegal, violent, racist stuff. In other words, even if these people’s opinions may be against BBC’s so called ‘objective and impartial’ standpoint, it doesn’t matter, because this is the readers’ forum, the readers’ area.”

That explains some fairly dramatic and emotional expressions in its commentaries. For example, the writer of the commentary entitled “Mo Yan in the real world”²⁶⁸ adopted dramatic phrases such as “silent devil in the cruel reality”²⁶⁹ to describe Mo Yan. On the other hand, the commentaries of BBC Chinese show more liveliness than the FT because of the variety of resources. As BBC Chinese does not require the commentators to be professional journalists or academics, the commentaries have no

²⁶⁸ *zhenshi shijie zhong de Mo Yan*

²⁶⁹ *canku de xianshi zhong zuo yizhi moran de mogui*

fixed framework or writing pattern. The writers can just express their attitudes or thoughts as they wish. Therefore, the arguments of BBC Chinese are fairly sharp, while those of the FT tend to be rather deep. BBC UK, at the same time, shows an unconditional trust in its own resources. All of its commentaries are exclusively from its own journalists. In this way, BBC UK on one hand ensures the level of its work, on the other hand, it leaves an impression of a singular viewpoint and being resistant towards outside voices.

In summary, the FT constructs an elite image by inviting exclusively elite groups to express their viewpoints, while BBC Chinese steps much closer to the public by opening a platform for ordinary readers to voice their feelings. As for BBC UK, it sets up an image of being an independent and to some extent arrogant kingdom with vast resources enabling it to run on its own. Hence, not only its news reporting, but its reflections on news events are stamped with the brand name “BBC”.

What the four online portals have in common is their reinforcement of the divergence between the dominant ideology and the elite ideology in China, which is most prominent in Bo Xilai’s case and Mo Yan’s case. BBC UK, BBC Chinese and the FT UK reinforced the ideological divergence through news stories, while the FT Chinese reinforced this point through a column called “Media Note”(meiti zhaji).

When framing the elite ideology in China, the two BBC online portals and the FT UK relied on state-run news media including Xinhua, the *People’s Daily* and its spin-off the *Global Times*. A slight difference between the two BBC online portals and the FT UK is that the two BBC online portals quoted these Chinese media, whereas the FT UK mostly just generalized briefly. In some cases, the three online

portals quote high-level officials' statements. As for framing the dominant ideology, the three online portals mainly quoted social media, especially *Weibo*. For example, in the news story entitled "Bo Xilai expelled from the Party, removed from his post and transferred to judicial authority"²⁷⁰, BBC Chinese quoted harsh criticism towards Bo from Xinhua to frame the elite ideology, meanwhile it quoted several posts from *Weibo* which showed sympathy towards Bo to make the ideological divergence salient. In the news story entitled "Gu verdict provokes online uproar", the FT UK quoted netizens' criticisms of Gu's trial to stress the wide gap between the dominant ideology and the elite ideology.

With regard to Mo Yan's case, both the social media and dissident elite groups function as crucial resources for the three online portals to frame the dominant ideology. In "Chinese social networks focus on Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize"²⁷¹, BBC Chinese quoted posts from *weibo* that questioned whether Mo Yan deserved the Nobel Prize. To frame the elite ideology, BBC Chinese quoted a congratulatory message from an official Chinese organization in "China's Writers' Association: Mo Yan winning Nobel Prize is a good thing for the field of literature"²⁷². Despite the fact that BBC Chinese did not directly frame the ideological divergence in a single news story, it still framed the divergence by framing the two kinds of ideologies separately. The FT UK and BBC UK, on the contrary, framed the divergence in one

²⁷⁰ *Bo Xilai bei shuangkai bing yijiao sifa jiguan*

²⁷¹ *Zhongguo shejiao wangzhan jujiao Mo Yan huo nuobeier jiang*

²⁷² *Zhongguo zuoxie: Mo Yan huojian shi wenxuejie xishi*

news story. Another way in which the two British online portals differed from BBC Chinese is that they did not quote specific words from Chinese officials. To frame the elite ideology, the two online portals both observed Chinese government's attitude. For instance, in "Mo Yan wins Nobel Prize in Literature", the FT UK framed the divergence between the elite ideology and the dominant ideology through comparing the Chinese government's warmth towards Mo Yan's Nobel Prize and the criticisms of Mo Yan from the social media and some unnamed critics. BBC UK adopted the same framing pattern in "Mo Yan's Nobel literature prize draws mixed reactions".

As for the FT Chinese, it has a column called Media Note (*meiti zhaji*) to specifically present the ideas of both the dominant ideology and the elite ideology towards each key news event. For example, one day after the declaration of Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize was announced, the columnist Xu Danei produced a commentary entitled "China! Mo Yan!"²⁷³. The columnist framed the elite ideology by quoting the congratulatory comments from the state-run media including the *People's Daily*, CCTV news at 7 pm (*xinwen lianbo*)²⁷⁴, an Renmin Net (*renmin wang*), and framed the dominant ideology by quoting critical posts from *weibo* and doubts cast by some intellectuals. The wide gap between the two kinds of voices constructed the divergence of the two kinds of ideologies. The commentary entitled "Beijing,

²⁷³ *Zhongguo! Mo Yan!*

²⁷⁴ *Xinwen Liaobo*, produced by China Central Television, is the most authoritative news broadcasting programme in China.

Chongqing 48 hours”²⁷⁵ on Bo Xilai’s case adopted a similar framing pattern.

The divergence of the elite ideology and the dominant ideology in China, which is illustrated through the four online portals, contradicts Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad’s claim that “China’s continuing strong adherence to a Communist Party platform” makes the separation between these two kinds of ideologies “less likely”. On the contrary, the divergence framed by the four online portals demonstrates that the gap between these two kinds of ideologies has become increasingly wide. What causes this situation is that Chinese “Communist-capitalist media negotiate, paradoxically, between Communist ideological control and quasi-capitalist market operation” since the 1990s. Plus, the Internet technology also makes an essential contribution as the rise of the online media and social media provide a platform for the elite groups to voice their opinions.

Apart from the divergence of the dominant ideology and the elite ideology, framing the elite ideology itself is also an important journalistic ideology of the three online portals. With regard to the elite ideology, censorship, the way that the Chinese government ensures the dominant position in its elite ideology, especially when it comes to political events, is an important issue for the two British online portals. For example, BBC UK highlighted the Chinese government’s censorship of the press with the framing device of thematic structure in the news story entitled “Netizens

²⁷⁵ *Beijing, Chongqing 48 xiaoshi*

criticize Gu Kailai's sentence". Similarly, the FT UK made the Chinese government's censorship of the press salient with the thematic structure in the form of observation in "Bo central to scripted political drama". The two Chinese online portals, however, did not stress this topic like the two British online portals. BBC Chinese even removed the key word of "censorship" from the title of BBC UK's news story "Netizens debate Bo Xilai despite censorship". The removal of the word "censorship" can be interpreted as an avoidance of being dramatic. The FT Chinese, at the same time, totally ignored this topic. The FT Chinese did not translate the FT UK's news stories that focused on the censorship issue. However, the avoidance by the FT Chinese of the issue is more like an act of self-censorship because it could just present the fact without adopting dramatic words such as "censorship". The FT Chinese refrained from dealing with the topic because it has to avoid crossing the bottom line of Chinese authority so as to survive in the Chinese market.

7.4. Translation between the English and the Chinese news stories of the four online portals

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) concluded that the five most frequent modifications in the process of translation are: change of title and lead, elimination of unnecessary information, addition of important background information, change in the order of paragraphs, and summarizing information (64). For the two BBC online portals and the FT Chinese, elimination of information is the only modification seen across all of the three cases. The FT UK is not an analysis target in this section because it does not conduct any translation from its Chinese branch.

Elimination of information is a modification carried out solely during the process of translation from English to Chinese. The motives for information elimination are threefold. One motive was that BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese eliminated unnecessary information on the basis of their target readers' background knowledge. Hence, the two Chinese online portals frequently removed the background information from the TT story. For example, BBC UK's "The dual identities of Bo Xilai's brother"²⁷⁶ explains the personal information of Bo Xilai in its fourth paragraph. When translating this story, BBC Chinese removed Bo's personal information which Chinese readers were familiar with. For the second motive, the two online portals removed information according to the relevance of the news to their target readers. For instance, the FT UK's "Nissan cuts forecast after China boycott" traces the influence of Japan's home market on Nissan and forecasts about its sales in Europe in its closure. During the process of translation, the FT Chinese eliminated the TT closing part considering its relevance weak to Chinese readers. For the third motive, which occurred just to the FT Chinese, removing sensitive information is an act of self-censorship. The FT UK's "Bo Xilai tangled in a web of own" views three earlier cases: the downfall of Shanghai Party Secretary Chen Liangyu in 2005; the removal of Beijing Party Secretary Chen Xitong in the mid-1990s; the ousting of General Secretary of Communist Party Zhao Ziyang in the wake of the 1989 Tian'anmen Square massacre. When translating this story, the FT

²⁷⁶ *Bo Xilai zhangxiong de shuangchong shenfen*

Chinese eliminated the latter two examples because Chen Xitong and Zhao Ziyang are key figures in the Tian'anmen Square incident. Unlike BBC Chinese which has already been blocked by the Chinese government for decades, the FT Chinese has no choice but to carry out self-censorship so as to survive in Mainland China's media market. Therefore, the FT Chinese had to eliminate information based on its sensitivity.

In addition to information elimination, change of title is another prominent modification which frequently occurred in Bo Xilai's case and in the anti-Japan case. Unlike information elimination, change of title occurred both ways between English and Chinese. The changing patterns, however, were different. When BBC UK translated from its Chinese branch, it tended to alter the SL title into a more dramatic TL title. For instance, BBC UK added a dramatic word of "emperor" to the Chinese title "Do Chinese people miss Bo Xilai?"²⁷⁷ so as to have a dramatic title of "Does Chongqing miss former 'emperor' Bo Xilai?". On the contrary, the two Chinese online portals tended to eliminate all the dramatic elements in the ST title when translating from their English headquarters. For instance, the FT Chinese changed the English title of "China raises stakes over disputed islands", which describes the geopolitics between China and Japan as a drama and China as having an active role, to a more neutral tone "China drives away Japanese patrol boats in Senkakus

²⁷⁷ *Chongqing renmin huainian Bo Xilai?*

area”²⁷⁸, which simply describes an act. The changing patterns reflect that the western news media prefer a dramatic title so as to draw its readers attention, while Chinese news media tend to adopt a neutral title so as to prove their objectivity. Even though BBC Chinese is not able to enter the market of the Mainland China’s, its target readers are still Chinese internet users. Hence, BBC Chinese still takes the Chinese traditional news consumption habit into account. However, as Lee puts it, Chinese media currently “enjoy greater ‘negative freedom,’ both chipping away at state command and ushering in increasing supremacy of the commercial logic”(2004,15). As a result, Chinese news media that is relatively commercial such as Ifeng News (*fenghuang xinwen*), Sina and Sohu online portals, and local evening papers frequently adopt dramatic titles to attract readers. The FT Chinese and BBC Chinese, however, have not caught up with this trend.

In addition to rhetorical style, the feelings of the target readers is another consideration of the FT Chinese when removing the dramatic words from its TT titles. For example, the FT Chinese changed the English title “China protests spur Japanese nationalists” to “Japanese right-wing groups behind Japan-China disputes”²⁷⁹. By removing the word “spur” which blames Chinese protests for Japanese nationalists’ demonstrations, the FT Chinese avoided appearing offensive to Chinese readers. Instead the Chinese title defined the anti-China protests as a

²⁷⁸ *Zhongguo quzhu Diaoyudao shuiyu de Riben xunluochuan*

²⁷⁹ *Rizhong jiufen beihou de Riben youyi*

result of a diplomatic dispute.

Generally speaking, the FT Chinese carries out more modifications in the process of translation than the two BBC online portals. In addition to information elimination and title alteration, the FT Chinese also added information and changed the order of paragraphs in some cases. The reason for the modification, which is also unknown to the FT UK's journalists, however, can only be speculated upon due to the lack of solid evidence such as an interview with the FT Chinese working staff. This issue has also been discussed in the interview with Interviewee 3. With regard to elimination of information, Interviewee 3 showed her ignorance of the change.

"...No, they did not tell me, and this is very interesting. Of course that in fact is self censorship, like the FT, in order to reach China's market...but if they removed five paragraphs from Bi Xilai, I didn't pay attention at the time, but that's really interesting."

When examining self-censorship of the FT Chinese, I found it difficult to understand why the FT Chinese still kept quite a few politically sensitive texts and it has never got blocked. I asked Interviewee 3, but she could not provide a clear answer. However, she mentioned a key figure called Zhang Lifen:

"It's been a mystery to all of us, all the time. Because lots of readers find it strange. They kept asking us how are you doing this? I mean, we, I have never been involved in any of this. The guy who was editor in chief of the FT ChineseA, Zhang Lifen. I think he probably made sure that it was not blocked. You know how Chinese media works, and also electronic media, for example, somebody works as an editor at Sina or someone who works on content on weibo, they get calls from people high up, and they are told this is ok and this is not ok, you have to take this down and you have to write this differently, so I would assume that Lifen would get these calls as well, so he would know how to deal with that."

According to this interviewee, a personal network plays a crucial role in shielding the FT Chinese from being blocked in China. However, the saying could not be verified due to the lack of interview with high-level management staff from the FT Chinese.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

In the latest two decades, Asia Pacific region has been experiencing a rapid increase in media market. China has generated half of the total media gain of the region. The vast Chinese market attracted attention from overseas media groups. In this transnational communication process, these global media organisations have spent efforts to adapt to Chinese cultural and political environment to overcome the cross-culture challenges. Yet so far there has been little research on the cross-culture operation of western media in China. This is important because a successful localisation is a key to meet the challenge of globalisation for international media groups. This study fills in this blank by presenting an investigation of how BBC, the FT and their Chinese branches operated in China. In addition to filling the disciplinary blank, this study also provides a new perspective to cross-culture study. Unlike earlier studies that isolated Chinese news media from western news media, this study integrates news media under two different systems into one frame by selecting the Chinese branches of British news media as research targets, which earlier researches have never done before.

This thesis has explored how BBC and the FT operate their Chinese online portals in China by the means of examining and comparing the two British online portals' and the two Chinese online portals' coverage of three Chinese news events in the year 2012. The three news events include the downfall of the Chinese high-ranking official Bo Xilai, the anti-Japan protests which erupted across China in the summer of 2012, and Chinese writer Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize for Literature.

BBC UK, BBC Chinese, the FT UK and the FT Chinese shared some characteristics

in the coverage of these three news events. First, thematic framing is the most frequently used framing device for all of the four online portals. The four online portals frequently adopted rhetorical framing device in the case of Bo Xilai's downfall, whereas they applied this framing device just occasionally in the coverage of the other two news events. Among the framing rhetorical devices, dramatic wording is used most frequently by all of the four online portals. Second, all of the four online portals set up a division between "us" and "them", which is illustrated through their coverage of Mo Yan winning the Nobel Prize in Literature. The four online portals portrayed "us" as representatives of democracy and humanity, while they portrayed "them", namely the Chinese government, as the symbol of dictatorship and injustice. Therefore, those who disagreed with the Chinese government were regarded as belonging to "us", whereas those who did not stand up against the Chinese government were divided into "them". Third, all of the four online portals paid close attention to divergence between the dominant ideology and the elite ideology in China.

At the same time, BBC and the FT, as two different news media, presented certain differences in news coverage styles. First, BBC focused on providing instant information on news events, while the FT laid its emphasis on researching deeply into issues. Second, the FT relied more on elite resources including academias, economists, freelancers, and politicians than BBC, which is shown in the commentaries of the two news media.

This study notices that in spite of representing the same brand, BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese differentiated themselves from their British headquarters in many ways.

This point is explicit in the translated news reports. During the process of translating the English news reports into the Chinese news reports, the modifications that appeared frequently in both BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese include elimination of information and change of titles. As for information elimination, in some cases, the Chinese versions eliminated the background information that was considered to be familiar to Chinese readers. In some cases, the Chinese versions eliminated sensitive political information so as to avoid offending the Chinese government. As for titles, both BBC Chinese and the FT Chinese tended to remove the dramatic words contained in the English titles so as to accommodate the Chinese readers' reading habit.

In addition to the translated news reports, the difference between BBC Chinese and BBC UK can be summarised in two major points. First, BBC Chinese showed a more fragmented reporting style than BBC UK in a general way. In terms of the three selected news events, BBC Chinese provided a large number of short news reports containing just one piece of information, showing its target Chinese readers its strength in providing instant information when it comes to big events. Second, BBC Chinese holds a more open attitude to "grass-root" actors as it has two columns specifically drawing commentaries from ordinary readers. In contrast, BBC UK exclusively drew the commentaries on these three news events from its own journalists. As for the FT Chinese, it showed a heavier dependence on commentaries than the FT UK as its commentaries outnumbered the FT UK in all three news events, which meant that the FT Chinese has formed its own resource reservoir from which to draw commentaries from the elite class in the Chinese-speaking world.

The digital innovation attempts launched by BBC and the FT are also examined in this study. BBC's and the FT's developments in smartphone apps and BBC's efforts to deploy social media are worth further research. Through examining the news media's application of innovative techniques, light can be shed on how news media adapt to a digitalising China.

In summary, BBC and the FT adopt different strategies for Chinese readers and for British readers in spite of the claims that they insist the same principals. The comparisons between the two BBC online portals' news reports show that BBC Chinese covers Chinese news events in a more comprehensive way as it covered more details and presented more angles than its British headquarters. Commercially, BBC Chinese launches BBC UK China (yinglunwang), an online portal without any political content, to open up China's market. This study regards this online portal as BBC's compromise to the Chinese government. Unlike the two BBC online portals, the difference between the two FT online portals lies in their commentaries and the translation from English to Chinese. The FT Chinese conducts deeper and more rounded analysis of the three news events than its British headquarters. In the news reports, the FT Chinese conducts self-censorship through modification of information elimination in the process of translation. Commercially, the FT Chinese does not adopt the "paywall" strategy of its British headquarters. Instead, it presents a more generous attitude to its readers as its content is totally free to read. It gains profit by running courses for business elite group such as MBA courses and high-end commodities' advertisements.

The comparisons between the FT Chinese and BBC Chinese illustrate that the former

operates in a more commercial way. Editorially, the FT Chinese adopts a more dramatic journalistic style and regards Chinese elite groups as the source of commentaries. In addition, the FT Chinese does take China's political context into consideration, whereas BBC Chinese ignores this. Commercially, the BBC Chinese shows its weakness compared with the FT Chinese's careful planning. All of the FT Chinese's activities target specifically at business elite group in China, while the BBC Chinese posts just several advertisements that show to readers outside UK. This difference is caused by the different financial operation ways. The FT Chinese has to earn its own funding, while the BBC Chinese gets grants directly from its headquarters that come from the license fee and the British government. Hence, the FT Chinese faces a higher financial pressure than the BBC Chinese. The pressure to be independent forces the FT Chinese to find a way that fits the image of its brand, wins over the popularity among Chinese middle and upper-middle classes and can be tolerated by the Chinese government. The current status of the FT Chinese proves that its operation mode fits into China's cultural and political contexts quite well.

Bibliography

Akhavan-Majid, R. and Ramaprasad, J. (1998): Framing and ideology: A comparative analysis of U.S. and Chinese newspaper coverage of the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women and the NGO Forum. *Mass Communication & Society*, 1, 131–52.

Anderlini, J. (2012): China: Stranger than fiction. *The Financial Times*, 14 April 2012. Retrieved on 19 November 2016 from <https://www.ft.com/content/8a424d3a-8557-11e1-a75a-00144feab49a>.

Associated Press (2016): Xi Jinping asks for ‘absolute loyalty’ from Chinese state media. *The Guardian*, 19 February 2015. Retrieved on 23 March 2016 from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/xi-jinping-tours-chinas-top-state-media-outlets-to-boost-loyalty>.

Australia Broadcasting Corporation (2012): Timeline: China Japan island dispute. 19 August 2012. Retrieved on 27 November 2016 from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-08-19/an-japan-china-timeline/4208770>.

Baidu: Shijie shishang zhiyuan Elle. Retrieved on 09 October 2013 from <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1973872.htm?fromtitle=ELLE&fromid=211378&type=syn#viewPageContent>

Barber, L. (2012): FT at 125: The world in focus. *The FT*, 12 February 2013. Retrieved on 07 April 2013 from <http://www.ft.com/cms/s2/6fce6e6e-711c-11e2-9d5c-00144feab49a.html#axzz446MU9WWt>.

BBC (2001): Gao Xingjian: Life As A Literature Laureate. BBC, 17 March 2001. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/arts/highlights/010316_xingjian.shtml.

BBC (2011): *BBC's global strategy*. Retrieved on 29 October 2012 from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/review_report_research/strategic_review/global_strategy.pdf.

BBC (2012a): *BBC executives' review and assessment for 2011/2012*. Retrieved on 29 October 2012 from www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/about/how_we_govern/charter_and_agreement/.

BBC (2012b): BBC World Service annual review 2011-2012. Retrieved on 29 October 2012 from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/annual_review/bbc_world_service_annual_review_2011_12.pdf.

BBC (2014): How uninhabited islands soured China-Japan ties. BBC, 10 November 2014. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11341139>.

BBC (2015): BBC's combined global audience revealed at 308 million. Retrieved on 26 March 2016 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/combined-global-audience>

Benson, R. (2010): Futures of the News: International Considerations and Further Reflections. In Fenton, N.(ed.), *New Media, Old News*. London: Sage, 187-200.

Berelson, B. (1952): Content analysis in communication research. New York: Hafner.

Berg, B. L. (1998): *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (3rd edition). The United States of America: Allyn and Bacon.

Berger, A. (1991): *Media research techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bertrand, I. and Hughes, P. (2005): *Media Research: Audiences, Institutions, Texts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bielsa, E. and Bassnett, S. (2009): *Translation in Global News*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bourne, V. and Clarke, V. (2006): Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

Bradsher, K. (2012): China Blocks Web Access to Times After Article. *The New York Times*, 25 October 2012. Retrieved on 09 April 2013 from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/26/world/asia/china-blocks-web-access-to-new-york-times.html?_r=0.

Brayne, M. (1992): The Problem of Distance. In Porter, R.(ed.), *Reporting the News From China*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 61-73.

Bristow, M. (2010): Liu Xiaobo: 20 years of activism. BBC, 09 December 2010. Retrieved on 21 November 2016 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11492131>.

Brown, K. (2016): The Most Dangerous Problem in Asia: China-Japan Relations. *The Diplomat*, 31 August 2016. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://thediplomat.com/2016/08/the-most-dangerous-problem-in-asia-china-japan-relations/>.

Brzeski, P. (2013): Chinese Censors Temporarily Black Out CNN International. CNN, 02 January 2013. Retrieved on 09 April 2013 from <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/chinese-censors-temporarily-black-cnn-417411>.

Burke, D. (2008): Tibetans stick to the 'middle way'. *The Asia Times*, 27 November 2008. Retrieved on 21 November 2016 from <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/JK27Ad01.html>.

- Buruma, I. (2013): Prison of the mind. *The New Yorker*, 01 July 2013. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/07/01/prison-of-the-mind>.
- Carvajal, D. (2006): All-news Television Spreading Its Wings. *International Herald Tribune*, 08 January 2006.
- Castells, M. (2000a). *The Information Age, Volume 1: The Rise of the Network Society* (2nd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chan, J., Lee, F. and Pan, Z. (2006): Online news meets established journalism: How China's journalists evaluate the credibility of news websites, *New Media & Society*, 8(6), 925–47.
- Cheung, H. (2013): Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian: 'I've had three lives'. BBC, 22 November 2013. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-24952228>.
- China-embassy.com: State Administration of Radio, Film and Television. Retrieved on 23 March 2016, from <http://in.china-embassy.org/eng/mt/jyjs/t61109.htm>
- China Internet Network Information Centre (2012): The 29th statistical report of Internet development in China. Retrieved on 25 November 2012 from <http://www1.cnnic.cn/IDR/ReportDownloads/201209/P020120904421720687608.pdf>.
- China Internet Network Information Centre (2016): The 36th statistical report of Internet development in China. Retrieved on 26 March 2016 from <http://www1.cnnic.cn/IDR/ReportDownloads/201601/P020160106496544403584.pdf>.
- Chu, L. (1994): Continuity and Change in China's Media Reform. *Journal of Communication*, 44(3), 4-21.
- Clement, N. (2012): The Economic Costs of China's Anti-Japanese Sentiment. 2point6billion.com, 22 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.2point6billion.com/news/2012/09/22/the-business-cost-of-chinas-anti-japanese-sentiment-11668.html>.
- CNN (2012): Chinese tourists cancel trips to Japan amid island spat. CNN, 13 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://travel.cnn.com/shanghai/life/chinese-tourists-cancel-trips-japan-amid-island-spat-110241/>.
- Croteau, D.(2014): Media and Ideology. In Croteau, D. and Hoynes, W. (eds.) *Media/Society: Industries, Images and Audiences (fifth edition)*. Sage Publications Inc, 159-193.
- Deuze, M. (2005): What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442-464.

Dijk, T.A. (1998): Opinions and Ideologies in the Press. In Bell, A. and Garrett, P. (eds), *Approaches to Me-dia Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell, 21-63.

Entman, R. E. (1993): Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51–58.

Flood, A. (2012): Mo Yan wins Nobel prize in literature 2012. The *Guardian*, 11 October 2012. Retrieved on 21 November 2016 from <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/oct/11/mo-yan-nobel-prize-literature>.

Friedenspreis: Liao Yiwu. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from <http://www.boersenverein.de/445950/?aid=539087>.

FT: FT Web App hits two million users. Retrieved on 27 March 2016 from <http://aboutus.ft.com/2012/04/12/ft-web-app-hits-two-million-users/#axzz1ss2jspDo>.

Fttoolkit: FT's Media Kit: FT Heritage and Innovation. Retrieved on 09 October 2013 from <http://fttoolkit.co.uk/d/>

Gamson, W. A. (1992): *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

García Suárez, P. (2005): Noticias de agencia: algunos problemas planteados en la traducción español-árabe. In C. Cortés Zaborras and M. J. Hernández Guerrero (eds), *La traducción periodística*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 175-97.

Gitlin, T. (1980): *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gramamticas, D. (2012): Bo Xilai scandal: Wang Lijun ‘does not contest charges’. Retrieved on 02 November 2012 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19640960>

Grant, T. (2002): International Directory of Company Histories: Pearson plc History, Volume 46. Detroit, Mich: St. James Press. Retrieved on 09 October 2013 from <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/pearson-plc-history/>

Gunter, B. (2000): *Media Research Methods: Measuring Audiences, Reactions and Impact*. London: Sage.

Hafez,K. (2007): *The Myth of Media Globalisation*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hall, S. (1986): The problem of ideology: Marxism without guarantees. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10(2), 28-44.

Hamilton, J. M. and Jenner, E. (2004): Foreign Correspondence: Evolution, Not Extinction. *Nieman Report*, 58(3), 98-100.

Hatim, B. and Munday, J. (2004): *Translation: An advanced source book*. London: Routledge.

Hernández Guerrero, M. J. (2005): Prensa y traducción. In Cortés Zaborras, C. and Hernández Guerrero, M.J.(eds), *La traducción periodística*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 155-73.

Herrmann, E. and McChesney, R. (1997): *Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. London; New York: Continuum.

Hervey, S. and Higgins, I. (1992): *Thinking Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Huffington Post: Liao Yiwu. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/author/liao-yiwu>.

Hunt, K. (2013): Wang Lijun: Chinese cop at the heart of Bo Xilai scandal. CNN, 19 August 2013. Retrieved on 20 November 2016 from <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/18/world/asia/profile-wang-lijun/index.html>.

Huntson, S. (2004): Counting the Uncountable: Problems of Identifying Evaluation in a Text and in a Corpus. In Partington, A., Morley, J. and Haarman, L.(eds), *Corpora and Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang, 157-88.

International Press Centre: Foreign Journalists Conducting Short-term News Coverage in China. Retrieved on 23 March 2016 from <http://ipc.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wgjzzhzn/t716849.htm>

International Press Centre: Hiring Chinese Citizens to Do Auxiliary Work. Retrieved on 23 March 2016, from <http://ipc.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wgjzzhzn/t716849.htm>

J. M. (2012): Where Bo goes. The *Economist*, 23 March 2012. Retrieved on 19 November 2016 from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/analects/2012/03/interpreting-purge>.

Jia, T. (2012): China's Anti-Japan Protests: Patriotism needs to face the economic reality. *Waltham Economy of Asia Review*, 26 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <https://brandeisear.wordpress.com/2012/09/26/chinas-anti-japan-protests-patriotism-needs-to-face-the-economic-reality/>.

Johnson, I. (2011): 'I'm not interested in them; I wish they weren't interested in me': An Interview with Liao Yiwu. *NYR Daily*, 15 August 2011. Retrieved on 03 November 2016 from <http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2011/08/15/interview-liao-yiwu/>.

Johnson, I. and Shanker, T. (2012): Beijing Mixes Messages Over Anti-Japan Protests. The *New York Times*, 16 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/17/world/asia/anti-japanese-protests-over-disputed-islands-continue-in-china.html>.

Johnson, I. (2012): China's falling star. The *New York Review of Books*, 19 March 2012. Retrieved on 19 November 2016 from <http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2012/03/19/chinas-falling-star-bo-xilai/>.

Karlsson, M. (2008): Increasingly interactive: Swedish online news 2005-2007. International Communication Association. Retrieved May 24 2013 from EBSCO database.

Kress, G. and Keeuwen, T. (1998): Front Pages: (The Critical) Analysis of Newspapers Layout. In Bell, A. and Garrett, P. (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell, 186-219.

Kumagai, M. and Hashimoto, M. (2012): Impact of Anti-Japan Protests in China. *Japan's Economy: Monthly Review*, October 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.dir.co.jp/english/research/report/jmonthly/12102301mer.html>.

Küng-Shankleman, L. (2000): *Inside BBC and CNN: Managing media organizations*. London: Routledge.

Lasswell, H., Lerner, D., and Pool, I. de Sola. (1952): *The comparative study of symbol: an introduction*. Stanford University Press, Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace.

Lavid, J., Arús, J. and Moratón, L. (2012): Genre Realised in Theme: The Case of News Reports and Commentaries. *Discourse*. Retrieved from <http://discours.revues.org/8623> on 11 December 2016.

Lee-Wright, P. (2010): Culture Shock: New Media and Organizational Change in BBC. In Fenton, N. (ed), *New Media, Old News*. London: Sage, 71-86.

Lee, C. (2000): *Power, money, and media: Communication patterns and bureaucratic control in cultural China*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Lee, C. (2004): Ideological, Convergence and Contestation. *Perspective: Working Papers in English & Communication*, 16(1) Spring 2004, 1-23.

Leonard, M. (2012): What the rise and fall of Bo Xilai tells us about China's future. *The Telegraph*, 18 March 2012. Retrieved on 19 November 2016 from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/9150391/What-the-rise-and-fall-of-Bo-Xilai-tells-us-about-Chinas-future.html>.

Li, X. (2015): Exclusive interview: FT Chinese president Zhang Yan, no fear, no partiality (*dujia zhuanfang: FT zhongwenwang zongcai Zhang Yan bu jupa bu piantan*), in Chinese. Retrieved on 27 March 2016 from <http://www.aiweibang.com/u/203564>.

Link, P. (2012): Does This Writer Deserve the Prize? *The New York Times*, 6 December 2012. Retrieved on 21 November 2016 from <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2012/12/06/mo-yan-nobel-prize/>.

Liu, Y. (2011): Bo Xilai's Campaign for the Standing Committee and the Future of Chinese Politicking. *China Brief*, 11 (21). Retrieved on 19 Nov, 2016 from <https://jamestown.org/program/bo-xilais-campaign-for-the-standing-committee-and->

the-future-of-chinese-politicking/.

Macmanara, J.R. (2005): Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1-34.

Makinen, J. (2012): Economic stakes high in China-Japan islands dispute. The *Los Angeles Times*, 18 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/sep/18/world/la-fg-china-japan-protests-20120919>.

Martina, M. (2012): Bloomberg sites blocked in China days after Xi family wealth story. Reuters, 04 July 2012. Retrieved on 12 April 2013 from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/04/us-china-censorship-bloomberg-idUSBRE86306820120704>.

Mautner, G. (2008): Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media. In Wodak, R. and Krzyzanowski, M.(eds), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 30-51.

McGregor, P., Balcytiene, A., Fortunati, L., Nuust, V., O'Sullivan, J., Roussou, N., Salaverria, R., & Sarrica, M. (2011): A cross-regional comparison of selected European newspaper journalists and their evolving attitudes towards the Internet--including a single-country focus on the UK. *Journalism*, 12(5), 627-46.

McKinsey & Company (2015): *Global Media Report 2015*. Retrieved on 19 March 2016 from <https://www.mckinsey.com>.

McQueen, R. and Knussen, C. (2002): *Research Methods for Social Science: An Introduction*. Essex: Prentice Hall.

Miller, A. (2014): Global news media: the next horizon. Polis public lecture at the London School of Economics. Retrieved on 17 March 2016 from <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/2014/oct/23/andrew-miller-global-news-media-the-next-horizon>.

Miremadi, S. A. (1991): *Theories of translation and interpretation*. Tehran: SAMT.

Moyo, L. (2010): The global citizen and the international media. A comparative analysis of CNN and Xinhua's coverage of the Tibetan crisis. The *International Communication Gazette*, 72(2), 191-207.

N.D. (2012): Outrage, to a point. The *Economist*, 17 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/analects/2012/09/anti-japan-protests>.

Neuendorf, K. (2002): *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Neuman, W. (1997): *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Newbold, C., Boyd-Barrett, O., & Van Den Bulck, H. (2002): *The media book*. London: Arnold (Hodder Headline).

Niblock, K. (2009): A Global Strategy for BBC.com. Retrieved on 12 November 2012, from www.slideshare.net/adtech/final-1213459.

Nikkei (2015): Nikkei completes acquisition of Financial Times. Nikkei, 30 November 2015. Retrieved on 27 March 2016 from <http://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Companies/Nikkei-completes-acquisition-of-Financial-Times>.

Ofcom (2014): *News consumption in the UK: 2014 Report*. Retrieved on 07 December 2014 from http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/tv-research/news/2014/News_Report_2014.pdf

Owji, Z. (2013). Translation strategies: a review and comparison of theories. *Translation Journal*, 17(1), <http://translationjournal.net/journal/63theory.htm>.

Paltridge, B. (2012): *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* (2nd edition). London: Bloomsbury.

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (1993): Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55–75.

Pearson (2011): *Annual report and account 2011*. Retrieved on 04 November 2012 from https://www.pearson.com/content/dam/corporate/global/pearson-dot-com/files/cosec/14945_PearsonAR11.pdf.

Powell, K.A. (2011): Framing Islam: an analysis of U.S. media coverage of terrorism since 9/11. *Communication Studies*, 62(1), 90–112.

PwC (2015): *Global entertainment and media outlook 2014-2018*. Retrieved on 20 March 2016 from <https://www.pwc.com/outlook>.

Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (2015): *Reuters institute digital news report 2015: tracking the future of news*. Retrieved on 19 March 2016 from <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org>.

Richstad, J. (2000): Asian Journalism in the Twentieth Century. *Journalism Studies*, 1(2), 273–284.

Roberts, D. (2012): Anti-Japanese Protests Flare in China Over Disputed Islands. *Bloomberg Businessweek*, 17 September 2012. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-09-17/anti-japanese-protests-flare-in-china-over-disputed-islands>.

Roy-Chaudhury, S. (2016): The Senkaku Islands Dispute. *International Policy Digest*, 01 August 2016. Retrieved on 26 November 2016 from <https://intpolicydigest.org/2016/08/01/senkaku-islands-dispute/>.

Schlesinger, D.(2012): News Doesn't Necessarily Equal Understanding--Reflections on China reporting at a time of transition. Speech to the International Relations Council of Hong Kong University.

Seib, P. (2010): Transnational Journalism, Public Diplomacy, and Virtual States. *Journalism Studies*, 11(5), 734-44.

Shirk, S. L. (2010): Changing media, changing foreign policy. In Shirk, S. L. (ed.), *Changing Media, Changing China*. Shirk, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 225-52.

Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996): *Mediating the message: theories of influences on mass media content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Sorby, S. (2006): Translating news from English to Chinese: Complimentary and derogatory language usage. In Conway, K and Bassnett, S (eds), *Translation in global news: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Warwick*. Coventry: University of Warwick, 113-27.

Soubaoad: Introduction of The Chinese Computerworld (*Jisuanji Shijie Jianjie*), in Chinese. Retrieved on 29 November 2012, from www.soubaoad.com/information/4288.shtml.

Soubaoad: Retrieved on 09 October 2013 from www.soubaoad.com/newspaper/1116.shtml

Stetting, K. (1989). Transediting--A new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating. In Cale, G. (ed.), *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 371-82.

Sudworth, J. (2012): Bo Xilai scandal: Wang Lijun trial starts. BBC, 18 September 2012. Retrieved on 02 November 2012 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-19631797>.

Tankard, J., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., & Ghanem, S. (1991): Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, MA.

Tett, G. (2012): Joining up the dots; why financial journalism matters more today than ever before. Keynote speech to Knight-Bagehot 37th Anniversary Gala New York, NY: October 24, 2012. Retrieved on 27 March 2016 from <http://aboutus.ft.com/2013/01/03/gillian-tett-keynote-remarks-at-the-knight-bagehot-37th-anniversary-gala/#axzz2LAo9DCqY>

The *Financial Times* (2012): Anti-Japan protests spread across China. The FT, 18 September 2012. Re-trieved on 26 November 2016 from <https://www.ft.com/content/85f4f7a2-0138-11e2-99d3-00144feabdc0>.

The *South China Morning Post* (2012): Timeline: the Diaoyu-Senkaku Islands dispute. 18 September 2012. Retrieved on 27 November 2016 from

<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1039204/timeline-diaoyu-senkaku-islands-dispute>.

The *Wall Street Journal*: The Fall of Bo Xilai. Retrieved on 19 November 2016 from <http://stream.wsj.com/story/bo-xilai/SS-2-42626/>

Tsinghua School of Journalism and Communication (2012): *Report on development of China's media industry (2012)*. Cui, B. (ed.), China: Social Sciences Academic Press.

Tuinstra, F. (2004): Caught Between the Cold War and the Internet. *Nieman Reports*, 58(3), 100-103.

Vinay, J. P. and Darbelnet, J. (1958/1995): *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*. Trans. J. Sager and M-J. Hamel, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vreese, C.H.de. (2005): News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document De-sign*, 13(1), 51-62.

Wang, Y. (2011): The disappearance of BBC Chinese broadcasts (*BBC zhongwen guangbo xiaoshi de taiqian muhou*), in Chinese. *Oriental Outlook Weekly (Liaowang Dongfang Zhoukan)*, 20 June 2011. Retrieved on 04 November 2012 from <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/sd/2011-06-20/141822672703.shtml>.

Weaver, D.H. (2007). Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming. *Journal of Communication*, 2007(57), 142-47.

Wong, E. (2012): Ousted From Party in China, Bo Xilai Faces Prosecution. *The New York Times*, 28 Sep-tember 2012. Retrieved on 20 November 2016 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/29/world/asia/bo-xilai-expelled-from-chinas-communist-party.html>.

Woodhams, A. (2006): Alison Woodhams FCMA Chief operating officer, BBC World Service. *The Financial Management*, 2006(2), 10-12.

Wright, E. (1992): Broadcasting to China. In Porter, R.(ed.), *Reporting the News From China*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 124-30.

Yan, L. (2000): China. In Gunaratne, S.A.(ed.), *Handbook of the Media in Asia*. New Dhelil Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 497-526.

Yu, H. (2011): Doing Chinese Media Studies: a Reflection on the Field's History and Methodology. *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy*, 2011(138), 66-79.

Yuan, E.J. (2013): Online Journalism Social Transformations--A community structure approach. *Journalism Studies*, 14(1), 78-93.

Zhang, Y. (2016): Consult on media career development. *zaih.com* Retrieved on 27

March, 2016, from <http://www.zaih.com/mentor/84748874/topic/29860198/>.

Zhang, Y. and Zhang, L. (2013): Interview with the heads of FT Chinese (*duihua FT zhongwenwang zhangmenren*), in Chinese. Retrieved on 20 May 2013, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=igBFHLoqB58>.

Zhang,D.(2012): How China-based foreign reporters' aggressiveness changed: The honeymoon effect of the Chinese government's media relations strategies. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 22(5), 528-48.

Zhao, Y. (1998): *Media, Market, and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press .

Zhao, Y. (2000): From commercialization to conglomeration: The transformation of the Chinese press within the orbit of the party state. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 3–26.

Zhao,Y.(2004): The state, the market, and media control in China. In Thomas, P.N. and Nain, Z.(eds), *Who Owns the Media?: Global Trends and Local Resistances*. Penang, Malaysia: southbound; New York: Zed Books; London: WACC, 179-213.

Zhao,Y.(2004): When the tide goes out, the rocks are revealed. *New Internationalist*, 371, 20-21.

Zhao,Y.(2008): *Communication in China: political economy, power, and conflict*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Appendix I

Drafted questions with Interviewee 3

1. Introduction of my project.
2. Your personal experience: when started working in FT, when transferred to FT Chinese, how would you comment on working in different bureaus of the FT. Before working in FT, has worked in other news agencies before? Comparison?
3. How does the FT and FT Chinese support itself financially?
4. What's the FT and FT Chinese target readership? Judging from the ads, and the questionnaire when I ordered the online reading trial, the FT seems to target at upper-middle and upper classes, leaning toward financial professionals. The columns of the FT Chinese, however, seem also targeting at Chinese academia.
5. All of the FT Chinese news reports are translated from English version, it seems that the FT Chinese has no original Chinese news coverage at all. Does FT Chinese have its own Chinese journalists? How does FT Chinese employ workers? How many journalists? translators? columnists? correspondents, etc.
6. As the FT Chinese does not produce any original news reports, but it publishes rich commentaries and analysis. Why does the FT Chinese adopt this strategy?
7. What's the relationship between the FT Chinese and FT headquarters? I find it interesting that all the translation between the two online portals has been single-way, which is from English to Chinese, the FT English version never adopts anything from the FT Chinese, including commentaries or analysis.
8. It is easy to understand why you interviewed some academic experts, but it's a bit difficult for me to understand how you tracked down those not that prominent people, for example, Zhang Jun, an assistant professor at the National University of Singapore, who commented on Bo's case that "the ceremony is over, now they can start their meeting," in his Chinese microblog?
9. I noticed that you did quite a few interviews with ordinary Chinese people, for example,

in the “Maoist protesters show support for Bo”, you interviewed retired teacher, anonymous young man, and in the “China’s youth offer conciliation to Japan”, you interviewed Ha Menghe, an old man who experienced Nanjing Massacre, a couple who were visiting Nanjing massacre memorial, a student who visited the memorial, just to name a few, how did you find the interviewees? Is there any barrier during the interview process?

10. Were you aware of some changes made to your news coverage during the translation process? For example, in “Bo central to scripted political drama”, five paragraphs, the court’s vice president’s words about the trial and a suspicious breakdown of *Weibo*, and the course of Bo’s purge, were removed, and titled was changed to “Gu Kailai’s case waiting for verdict”. Why do you think the translator made these changes?
11. I noticed that, not just your news coverage, but most of the English news coverage, including FT and BBC, have more dramatic titles than their Chinese version, I mean their translated Chinese version. For example, the one I just said “Bo central to scripted political drama” changed to “Gu Kailai’s case waiting for verdict”, “Maoist protesters show support for Bo” changed to “Protesters appear near Gu Kailai’s court”(*Gukailai an chenille facing fuji chuxian kangyizhe*), “Gu trial raises ghost of ‘Gang of Four’” changed to “Various sides pay attention to Gu Kailai’s trial”(*gefang gnash Gukailai an tingshen*). I can’t help but notice that dramatic words quite often appear in English version news coverage while Chinese version mostly filtered these words. First of all, why do you choose these quite dramatic words?
12. The news stories about China, for example, the cases that I studies, Bo’s purge, the Sino-Japan dispute over the Senkaku Islands, are quite far away from British readers, so when writing these news stories, how did you attract readers’ interest?
13. One thing that I find hard to understand is that FT Chinese never gets blocked. In fact, the FT Chinese has produced sensitive articles for several times, for example, articles that sympathized Liu Xiaobo, even Tiananmen massacre, although they were not written by the FT Chinese, but by the columnists, still the FT Chinese was the one that published them online. We all know what happened to those news media which published sensitive stuff, to tell the truth, for many times, I was worried that the FT Chinese would be blocked, but never. Can I ask why is that?

Drafted questions with Interviewee 1 and 2

1. Introduction of my project
2. The interviewee's personal experience: when started working in BBC Chinese, starting from what position, how would he comment on working in BBC. Before working in BBC Chinese, has worked in other news agencies before? Comparison?
3. How does BBC Chinese hire people? How many journalists, other positions? How many workers are working in the office in Beijing? How many correspondents in Mainland China?
4. How does BBC Chinese support itself financially?
5. What's BBC Chinese target readership? As far as I concerned, BBC Chinese has been blocked in China for years except during the Beijing Olympics, most people in China has no access to the online portal, so what group does BBC Chinese serve?
6. Has BBC Chinese ever thought about widening its readership?
7. When I analyzed the news reports from BBC Chinese, I noticed a unique genre that BBC UK did not have: extractions from newspapers. For example, Extractions of Chinese newspapers: the fate of Bo Xilai (*Zhongguo baozhai: Bo Xilai de mingyun*), it picked several newspapers in both Mainland China and Hong Kong and extracted their reports on the purge of Bo Xilai. Similarly, the article titled "Taiwan Media: Bo Xilai's case dispersed, audience still there" (*Taimei: Bo Xilai an quzhong ren weisan*) In addition, there are extractions of British news media and Japanese news media. The same genre also was used in regard of reporting on anti-Japan parades in China and MonYan's case. Why does BBC Chinese use this genre while BBC UK does not? On what standard does BBC Chinese decide what newspapers to have a look at, and how does BBC Chinese decide which part of an article should be used?
8. Besides extractions from newspapers, BBC Chinese also produced extractions of netizens' comments. Why is that?
9. Besides the extractions, I find that the commentaries of BBC Chinese are unlike those from BBC UK or the FT as they came from grassroots readers who work in various fields instead of professionals or academics. For example, the writer of the commentary

“Poor Mon Yan” (*kelian de Mo Yan*) is a professor in a university in France, and the writer of “Comment on China: high-key anti-corruption and Bo Xilai case”(Zhongguo guandian: gaodiao fanfu he Bo Xilai anjian) is a free-lancer writer in America.

10. Besides commentary, BBC Chinese also provides platform for its readers to express their opinions in short words and sentences instead of writing commentaries. For example, “BBC netizens debate over Mo Yan’s speech in Sweden”(BBC wangyou reyi Mo Yan zap Ruidian de yanci). How does BBC Chinese decide to set up this platform? Among so many netizens having expressed their pinions, how did BBC Chinese decide which one to post?
11. During my study, I find that BBC Chinese is good at covering details of a news event. For example, in the Bo Xilai’s case, BBC Chinese did not let go any detail, and a tiny process in investigation or trial could be written as a news report. For example, when reporting on Mo Yan’s Nobel Prize, BBC Chinese covered that Mo Yan is likely to make a speech in Nobel Prize ceremony (*Mo Yan juxi jiangzai Nuobei’er jiang wanyan shang zhici*), Mo Yan specifically thanked his fellow-villagers in his speech (*Mo Yan wanyan zhici tebie gangue Shandong xiangqin*), Mo Yan going to Sweden for the awarding ceremony (*Mo Yan fu Ruidian lingqu Nuobei’er jiang*) and he actually accepted the prize (*Mo Yan lingqu Nuobei’er wenxue jiang*) were posted as two separate news reports. While in the other three online portals, all the information was gathered in one single news report. Why does BBC Chinese spend so many resources on the tiny details, not to mention write them as separated news reports?
12. It seems that BBC Chinese seldom translate news reports from BBC UK, vice versa. Why didn’t BBC UK directly use some news resources in the headquarters? How did BBC Chinese decide which news reports to translate and post them in our website?
13. In translation cases, I find that BBC UK tends to adopt a more dramatic title while BBC Chinese tends to keep the titles neutral and objective.
14. Why couldn’t I find the name of translator?
15. Will BBC Chinese carry out any changes? Considering the long lasting blocking, how will BBC Chinese respond to this situation?
16. I personally paid attention to BBC Chinese and BBC UK China (*yinglunwang*), and I noticed that BBC Chinese has always been blocked while BBC UK China

(*yinglunwang*) is not. What makes the difference?

Appendix II

News Stories Translated between BBC UK and BBC Chinese

Bo Xilai's case

Table-Appendix II. 1 BBC Chinese's news stories translated from BBC UK

BBC UK (ST)	BBC Chinese (TT)
Netizens debate Bo Xilai despite censorship	<i>Zhongguo wangmin reyi Bo Xilai tingren zhengzhiju weiyuan</i>
Torture claims emerge in China's Bo Xilai scandal	<i>Bo Xilai dahei shouhaizhe chengshou kaoda zhaogong</i>
Bo Xilai allegations "preposterous"	<i>Xiaoxi renshi: dui Bo Xilai zhikong "huangmiu"</i>
The dual identities of Bo Xilai's brother	<i>Bo Xilai zhangxiong de shuangchong shenfen</i>

Table-Appendix II. 2 BBC UK's news stories translated from BBC Chinese

BBC Chinese (ST)	BBC UK (TT)
<i>Bo Xilai beizhi qieting Hu Jintao dianhua</i>	China president 'was wire-tapped'
<i>Bo Xilai zhangxiong ciqu guangda guoji zhiwu</i>	Bo Xilai's brother quits China Everbright International

<i>Chongqing renmin huainian Bo Xilai?</i>	Does Chongqing miss former ‘emperor’ Bo Xilai?
<i>Jizhe cheng Zhongguo yinman Haiwude siwang zhenxiang</i>	China “murder cover-up began immediately”

Anti-Japan case

Table-Appendix II. 3 BBC Chinese's news stories translated from BBC UK

BBC UK (ST)	BBC Chinese (TT)
China protests: Fears rise over Japan-China trade ties	<i>Zhongguo fanri youxing huo daji shuangbian maoyi</i>

Table-Appendix II. 4 BBC UK's news stories translated from BBC Chinese

BBC Chinese (ST)	BBC UK (TT)
<i>Zhongguo baozhai: fanri shiwei</i>	China morning round-up: Anti-Japan protests
<i>Zhongguo baozhai: Gu Kailai yu fanri shiwei</i>	China morning round-up: Gu Kailai and islands row
<i>Zhongguo baozhai: Zhongri guanxi ehua</i>	China morning round-up: China-Japan ties